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DE CATECHIZANDIS RVDIBVS

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VOL. VIII

Augustine, St. 354-430.

S. AVRELI AVGVSTINI
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DE
ATECHIZANDIS RVDIBVS
LIBER VNVS

Translated with an Introduction and Commentary

BY

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THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1926

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Augustin est absolument hors de pair. De son Afrique lointaine il rayonna sur toute la chrétienté. Aux hommes de son temps il dit toutes les paroles utiles. Il sut leur expliquer leurs âmes, les consoler des malheurs du monde, guider leurs pensées à travers les mystères. A tous il fut aimable. Par lui les fanatiques furent apaisés, les ignorants éclairés, les penseurs maintenus dans la tradition. Il a enseigné tout le moyen-âge. Maintenant encore, après l'inévitable déchet d'une si longue durée, il demeure la grande autorité théologique. C'est surtout par lui que nous communiquons avec l'antiquité chrétienne. A certains égards il est de tous les temps. Son âme—et quelle âme!—a passé en ses écrits; elle y vit encore: sur telle de ses pages il tombera toujours des larmes.

L. DUCHESNE, *Histoire ancienne de l'Église*, *t.* 3,
Avant-Propos, p. vii

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PREFACE

Augustine is generally regarded as the most commanding religious personality of the early Church; of him it has been said that "as the ancient world, for the space of many centuries, looked toward Homer for its education, so the heritage of antiquity was transmitted by Augustine to the succeeding Christian world." No apology is therefore needed for the time and toil given to even the least of his works.

The need of a fuller commentary on his justly popular treatise, *De catechizandis Rudibus,* has long been felt; the present study is an attempt to supply this need. In the preparation of the commentary, it was found necessary to make a new translation for which the Benedictine text was used, though here and there emendations have been suggested. The Scriptural quotations follow the Rheims and Douay Version (Baltimore, Maryland, 1889). In this study the term classical is taken to include the Ciceronian, the Augustan, and the post-Augustan periods; while the term post-classical is used to designate the period beginning at about A. D. 125, which is frequently called the post-Suetonian period, and which lasts, according to some scholars, up to the death of the Venerable Bede (A. D. 734). Augustine (A. D. 354-430) falls within what Souter calls the Golden Age of this period (A. D. 350-450). Thanks to the labors of such eminent scholars as J. E. B. Mayor, Wölfflin, Lejay, Goelzer, Weyman, Watson, Souter, Waltzing, Löfstedt, Rand, Beeson, and Baxter, the arbitrary convention introduced by the severe humanists of the Renaissance, which set the limit of respectable Latinity at A. D. 125, has in the past fifty years gradually broken down, so that, to quote Professor Phillimore, it is no longer held "eccentric, perverse, and suspect to look into that limbo which includes Tertullian and Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Paulinus."

It is a great pleasure to thank Dr. Roy J. Deferrari, Professor of Latin in the Catholic University of America, and Editor of the *Catholic University Patristic Studies* in which this study has the

honor to appear. Dr. Deferrari both suggested this dissertation and carefully directed it from the beginning; though extremely busy, he has always found time to give assistance, advice, and encouragement. To the Rev. Dr. Romanus Butin and the Rev. Dr. Arthur A. Vaschalde, both of the School of Letters, I am also beholden: they read the manuscript, and have contributed useful suggestions and criticisms. I would likewise express my deep sense of the kindness and courtesy which I invariably experienced from the officials of the University Library.

It is my agreeable duty to acknowledge the personal assistance of other scholars, on whose patience and erudition I have been suffered to draw freely: Dr. Alexander Souter, Regius Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen, and Fellow of the British Academy, Dr. Arthur Stanley Pease, Professor of Latin in Amherst College, the Rev. James H. Baxter, M. A., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of St. Andrews, and Editor of the *Bulletin Du Cange,* and the Rev. Dr. Edward B. Jordan, Associate Professor of Education in the Catholic University of America, all of whom generously undertook the heavy task of reading the galley-proofs, and have given me valuable and vigilant help. Notes and suggestions that they have contributed are acknowledged in detail in the Commentary. To Professor Pease I owe a special debt; for he kindly consented to correct the page-proofs; several improvements in the translation are due to his taste and ripe scholarship. I am grateful also to that fine classical scholar, General Tasker Howard Bliss, U. S. A., who read and criticized the entire work in the manuscript, and to the Right Rev. Mgr. Edward A. Pace, Professor of Philosophy in the Catholic University of America, and the Very Rev. Dr. John F. Fenlon, Provincial of the Sulpicians in the United States, and sometime Professor of Patrology in the Sulpician Seminary, Washington, D. C., who were always ready with counsel and suggestion.

This book owes much to the Right Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, Rector of the Catholic University of America, and Fellow of the Mediæval Academy of America, to be in whose company is like being in the best of historical libraries. Indeed, the happiest memories associated with the progress of this work are those of converse with him in the Pincian Gardens when, gazing down

upon the City, as the sun was setting behind the Vatican Hill, he spoke out of his rare knowledge of antiquity, like one inspired, of pagan and Christian Rome.

I have to express likewise my heartfelt sense of appreciation and gratitude to that great, and good, and kindly churchman, the Right Rev. Peter J. Muldoon, Bishop of Rockford, Illinois, without whose co-operation and fatherly interest this book could never have been written. Last, but not least, my best thanks are due to my benefactors, whose generosity has made possible the publication of this work: Bishop Muldoon, Mr. Henry M. Naylon, of Buffalo, New York, the Rev. Jeremiah T. Foley, of St. Louis, Missouri, Mrs. Patrick Kelly, of Union, New Jersey, the Very Rev. Msgr. John B. C. York, of Brooklyn, New York, Mr. John T. Buckbee, of Rockford, Illinois, and a friend whose name I may not mention.

It remains only to say a word of appreciation to the officials, printers, and proof-readers of the J. H. Furst Company, printers and publishers, of Baltimore, Maryland, for the care and skill with which they have executed a somewhat difficult piece of typographical work.

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[Works are referred to in this dissertation by author and page or by the abbreviations inserted in the bibliography. Works to which only occasional reference is made are cited in full in the Commentary. The abbreviations Ch. N.; Ch. S. = Chapter, Note; Chapter, Section.]

1. Editio princeps, by Amerbach (Basle, 1506).

2. Editio Lovaniensis, by the Louvain theologians (Antwerp, 1577). In this edition Amerbach's edition was corrected with the aid of a few Flemish MSS.[1]

Editio Vaticana, projected by Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590) on the basis of Vatican MSS., but never completed. The collations made for this edition were used later on by the Benedictines for their edition.[2]

3. Editio Parisina, by the Benedictines of St. Maur (Paris, 1679). In preparing this edition the Benedictines made use of the Editio Lovaniensis and of the collections originally made for the Vatican Edition. In addition, they made a fresh collation of MSS. in France, England, Germany, Italy, and Belgium, many of which are not available for the modern editor.[3] The treatise *De catechizandis Rudibus* is found in Vol. VI of this edition. The principal codices used in its preparation were: Codex Vaticanus 445 and Codex Urbinas. The Benedictine edition has been frequently reprinted, the latest reprint being that of J. P. Migne, Paris, 1865.

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[1] Cf. R. C. Kukula: *Die Mauriner Ausgabe des Augustinus* in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kais. Akad. d. Wiss.* Wien. Vol. 121 (1890), Abhandlung V.; Ingold, *Hist. de l'éd. bénéd. de S. Augustin.* Paris, 1903.

[2] Cf. Dr. Carl Fr. Vrba: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Augustinischen Textkritik* in *Sitzungsberichte d. ph.-hist. Classe d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss.* Wien. Vol. 119 (1889), Abhandlung VI.

[3] Cf. C. Kukula, *Die Mauriner Ausgabe des Augustinus* in *Sitzungsberichte der ph.-hist. Classe d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss.* Wien. Vol. 121 (1890), Abh. V; Vol. 122 (1890), Abh. VIII; Vol. 127 (1892), Abh. V; Vol. 138 (1898), Abh. V.

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INTRODUCTION

I. Catechesis and St. Augustine's Treatise *De Catechizandis Rudibus*

The system of oral instruction was followed in the synagogue and in the pagan schools; it may have been inherited by the Church from either source, or possibly from both. The earliest form of catechetical instruction in the Church is represented by the instructions mentioned in the epistles of St. Paul; the next specimen would most probably be the *Didaché* (circ. 130 A. D.). Such instruction reached its highest development in the catechetical school of Alexandria, though, strictly speaking, catechesis in the Alexandrian school meant rather a philosophical presentation of Christian dogma to meet the needs of cultured pagans: it was, therefore, not so much a catechesis as an apology; just as the catechetical oration of St. Gregory of Nyssa was intended not for catechumens but for catechists.

The institution of the catechumenate systematized, to a certain extent, catechetical instruction which was divided into two graded explanations of the Christian Faith, corresponding to the two classes of catechumens: [1] the *accedentes* or candidates for admission to the catechumenate and the *competentes* or catechumens proper who were candidates for baptism. St. Cyril's catechetical lectures, for example, were addressed to the *competentes;* St. Ambrose's treatises *De Mysteriis* and *De Abraham,* as well as some of St. Augustine's sermons, were likewise intended for this class. As a

[1] That there were only two divisions of the catechumenate and that the old theory of their having been distributed into four classes is based on a wrong interpretation of the ancient texts, has been shown conclusively by F. X. Funk (*Theologische Quartalschrift* (1883), p. 41). Duchesne follows Funk (cf. *Christian Worship,* p. 293).

catechetical instruction for the *accedentes,*[1a] or candidates for admission to the catechumenate, the *De catechizandis Rudibus* is the only treatise that has come down to us.

II. Occasion and Date of Composition

Augustine composed this treatise at the instance [2] of Deogratias, a deacon of Carthage who, though a successful catechist, was desirous of further guidance in the ministry of catechizing. He was anxious to know especially with what period of Bible history the *narratio* should begin and how much it should include; and whether an *exhortatio* should be added to the *narratio,* or whether a brief statement of the precepts governing the Christian manner of life would suffice. From the deacon's request it is evident that at this time, in Africa at least, the matter and method of catechetical instruction had been neither formulated nor systematized.

This treatise is mentioned in the *Retractationes,* Lib. II, Caput XIV. Both Monceaux [3] and Wundt [3a] agree that the order of the

[1a] This class was composed of pagans and heretics, the children of Christian parents receiving religious instruction at home. Cf. Probst, *Katechese und Predigt* (Breslau, 1884), 44. In Africa this preparation for admission to the catechumenate was given in a single lecture. Cf. Rentschka, 94.

[2] Cf. the preface of the Benedictine edition: *Rogatus Augustinus a diacono Carthaginiensi, catechizandi artem docendam suscipit: ac primo praecepta tradit, ut id officii non tantum certa methodo atque idonea ratione, sed etiam sine taedio et cum hilaritate impleatur. Postea revocatis ad usum praeceptis, profert ipse in exemplum sermones, ad eum erudiendum qui Christianus esse velit, comparatos duos, longiorem unum, alterum brevissimum.*

[3] In his *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne,* t. VII, pp. 79, 80 Monceaux shows that the apparent discrepancy in the chronological order between the data furnished by Augustine's works themselves and the order given by Augustine in the *Retractationes* is due to the date usually assigned to the *Acta contra Felicem Manichaeum,* that is, the sixth consulship of Honorius. Now this date, Monceaux points out, should at first sight be suspected, because it places this controversy with Felix the Manichaean long after the other polemical treatises against the Manichaeans. He further shows that the sixth consulate of Honorius (= 404) is a copyist's mistake for the fourth consulate of the same emperor (= 398). This new date places the *Acta contra Felicem* in the period of the polemics against

works cited in the *Retractationes* is the chronological order, thus confirming Augustine's own testimony in the preface to the *Retractations.*[4] Wundt, however, disagrees with the Benedictine editors who assign circa 400 A. D. as the date of composition;[5] he would place it about 405, after the *Confessiones.*

III. Contribution to Catechetics

This treatise is unique inasmuch as it is a manual for both the catechist and the catechumen.[5a] It is at once a contribution to the subject-matter and the method of catechetics. In all catechetical treatises prior to Augustine (cf. e. g. the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* or Irenaeus' *Demonstratio Praedicationis apostolicae*) the *narratio* was restricted to Bible history; in the present treatise Augustine includes Church history down to his own time. Moreover, in all catechetical treatises before Augustine's time moral teaching was

the Manichaeans. This error rectified, all the difficulties with regard to Augustine's chronological order disappear. Cf. also Monceaux, *Communication à l'Institut,* in *C. R. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions* (1908), p. 51 (séance du 31 janvier).

[3a] *Zur Chronologie augustinischer Schriften* in *Zeitschrift f. d. neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* 21 (1921), 128.

[4] *Retractationum* Prologus, 3: *Inveniet enim fortasse, quomodo scribendo profecerim, quisquis opuscula mea ordine, quo scripta sunt, legerit. Quod ut possit, hoc opere, quantum potero, curabo, ut eundem ordinem noverit.*

[5] Cf. Wundt, *Augustins Konfessionen* (in *Zeitschrift f. d. neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* 22 (1923), p. 185), who writes: *Sie liegen uns in der Schrift De Catechizandis Rudibus vor, die Augustin im Jahre 405, vermutlich kurz nach Beendigung der Konfessionen verfasst hat.* Dom De Bruyne in an article, *L'Itala de Saint Augustin,* in the *Revue bénédictine,* 30 (1913), 303, is likewise of the opinion that, apart from other arguments, the Benedictine editors have crowded more works into the period from 400 to 405 than Augustine could ever possibly have written. He writes: *S'il fallait en croire ces historiens, Augustin aurait écrit en l'an 400 sept ou huit ouvrages dont quelques-uns très longs, tandis que les années de 405 à 410 auraient produit peu de chose.*

[5a] This treatise has been aptly described by Bishop Robertson, in his article on Augustine in Wace and Piercy, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography,* p. 87, as "a syllabus of the course for catechumens, with hints as to effective method in their instruction."

based on "the doctrine of the two ways." [6] This is true even of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* and the *Didascalia,* which though venerating the Decalogue do not make it the norm of Christian morality.[7] Augustine is the first writer on catechetics to point out that the Decalogue, as summed up in the two great commandments of love of God and love of our neighbor, is the foundation of all Christian morality.[8] In addition to amplifying the *narratio* he outlined the following points in response to the deacon's query: 1. A brief apology for the dogma of the resurrection of the body. 2. An eschatology. 3. An ethical exhortation, which is the practical application of the *narratio.* As for his contribution to the method of catechizing, Augustine was the first to appreciate the value of question and answer in studying the candidate and in sifting his motives for wishing to become a Christian [9] (cf. Ch. 13, N. 4). He likewise was the first to utilize for religious instruction many other sound principles of pedagogy and psychology, as, for example, not to confuse the candidate with too much matter, but to explain a little, clearly and thoroughly; to have but one central theme, the

[6] Cf. Rentschka 50: *In der Zeit der Urkirche lehnt sich der christliche Sittenunterricht vorwiegend an die Schriften des Neuen Testamentes an. . . . Diese Lehre der Apostel suchte man zusammenzufassen und übersichtlich zu gestalten in der sogenannten Zweiweglehre.*

[7] Cf. Rentschka, 49: *Die Didaskalia und die Apost. Konstitutionen sprechen sich unter allen Werken vor Augustinus am ehrendsten über den Dekalog aus. Christus hat durch seine Aussprüche den Dekalog bekräftigt, erneuert und erfüllt. Teilweise wird Dekalog und Evangelium identifiziert. Der Dekalog ist zwar nicht Norm des Sittenunterrichtes, doch haben sich hier und sonst Anschauungen vom Dekalog besonders durch die Polemik vorbereitet, die dessen Erhebung zur Unterrichtsnorm begünstigten.*

[8] Cf. Rentschka, 108: *Augustinus führt die Ausgiessung des hl. Geistes am Pfingstfeste als zweite Verkündigung des Dekaloges ein, als ein Einschreiben des Dekaloges in die Herzen der Menschen durch die Gnade. Dadurch und durch die unzertrennliche Verbindung und Identifizierung mit dem Doppelgebot der Liebe macht er den Dekalog zum Gesetz im christlichen Sinne, so dass auch er, der Dekalog, der adaequate Ausdruck des christlichen Sittengesetzes wird, sich für eine Norm der christlichen Sittenlehre eignet. So ist Augustinus der Schöpfer des Dekaloges im christlichen Sinne.*

[9] It was, most probably, from this treatise that later authors of catechisms got the idea of imparting instruction by means of question and answer. (Cf. Ch. 26, N. 1.)

love of God; to give, as far as possible, individual instruction; to look to the candidate's bodily comfort; to adapt the instruction to the candidate's intelligence; to keep up interest, cultivate cheerfulness, and combat weariness.

IV. The Knowledge and Use of this Treatise in later Writers

Since St. Augustine composed this treatise on such sound principles of pedagogy and psychology, it is not surprising to find that upon it are based almost all subsequent works on catechetics. The monastic schools, which, beginning with the sixth century, gradually supplanted the pagan rhetorical schools, were greatly influenced by the educational principles of St. Augustine, as set forth particularly in *De Doctrina Christiana* and *De catechizandis Rudibus*. Cassiodorus (circ. 490-580), in his important work *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium Lectionum*, in which he makes monastic education to consist in a thorough training in rhetoric coupled with an equally thorough study of the Scriptures, follows very closely these two works. The *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville (570-636), which was the encyclopedia of the Middle Ages, was likewise based upon them. In Ireland, the influence of Augustine on monastic education is evident.[9a] In England, Bede and Alcuin, under whom the monastic schools reached their highest development, used *De catechizandis Rudibus* and *De Doctrina Christiana* as text-books. The *De Institutione Clericorum* of Hrabanus Maurus (805-862), Alcuin's most distinguished pupil, is but these two treatises worked over and adapted. The next great names in the chain of inheritance from Augustine are Petrarch, Erasmus, and Vives, all of whom were steeped in Augustine's theory of education. With the invention of printing a number of catechisms began to flood Germany. None of these, however, followed *De catechizandis Rudibus* in making Bible history the basis of religious

[9a] Eggersdorfer, 216, writes, *Sobald die irische Bildung deutlicher an das Licht der Geschichte tritt, finden wir in ihr nicht die ästhetischen Ziele der antiken Schule, sondern die Grundsätze der Kirchenväter, vor allem Augustins, verkörpert.*

instruction. George Wicelius in his *Catechismus Ecclesiae* (1535) was the first to write a catechism along the lines laid down by St. Augustine in his treatise. He refers to it in these words: "*Zu letzt hab ich diss gethan auss S. Augustini raht welchen er dem Carthagischen Diaken gab do er jm schrieb wie er die leutlein catechizieren solt.*" In 1679 the famous Abbé Claude Fleury published his *Catéchisme historique,* in which he followed St. Augustine's method of using Bible history as a background to catechetical instruction. Among others in France whose catechisms were inspired by this treatise may be mentioned Pouget and Bougeaut. In Germany there appeared in 1779 Felbiger's catechism, which he entitled: *Grundsätze des Katechisierens aus den Schriften und Beispielen der heiligen Väter, vornehmlich des hl. Cyrillus und hl. Augustinus.* In 1832 Archbishop Gruber of Salzburg brought out his catechism [10] which was based, as its title indicates, on *De catechizandis Rudibus.* In our own time J. Eising [11] has shown conclusively that the famous "Munich method" of catechizing is modeled on this treatise.

V. Historical and literary Importance

Though one of his minor works, this treatise of St. Augustine is important: 1. It is one of the first works of his maturity.[12] 2. In it he philosophizes on history and develops the idea of the two cities, which was later on to form the subject of his great work *De Civitate Dei.* 3. It gives a fairly detailed picture of church life immediately after the persecutions, furnishing interesting

[10] *Praktisches Handbuch der Katechetik für Katholiken oder Anweisung und Katechisationen im Geiste des hl. Augustinus,* Salzburg, 1832.

[11] *Die katechetische Methode vergangener Zeiten in zeitgemässer Ausgestaltung,* Wien, 1905.

[12] Cf. Tisseront, *Histoire des Dogmes* (Paris, 1909), Vol. 2, 461, "*en général, et sauf de légères exceptions, on ne se trompera pas trop en partageant à ce point de vue sa vie littéraire en deux périodes, l'une de recherches auxquelles se mêlent quelques hésitations et qui va de l'an 386 à l'an 397, date de sa consécration épiscopale; l'autre de possession définitive de la doctrine, et qui se confond avec la durée de son épiscopat 397-430.*"

sidelights on the Manichaean, Donatist, and Pelagian controversies, and showing that even among Christians paganism, or at any rate, the pagan view of life, was not wholly destroyed. 4. It is of great help in studying manners and customs in the Roman Africa of the fifth century. 5. It is of literary interest, for, having been composed directly after the *Confessions,* it frequently re-echoes the same strain of emotional and psychological thought,[13] upon which all modern devotional, and even romantic, literature is based.[14] 6. In this treatise Augustine shows plainly that he has broken with the rhetoric of the second Sophistic and is attempting to recover the true principles of rhetoric which had been set forth by Cicero in his treatise *De Oratore* and which were so marvellously exemplified in the simplicity and sublimity of Scriptural style (cf. C. 9, S. 13). Early Christian rhetoric had been profoundly influenced by the second Sophistic (cf. J. M. Campbell, *The stylistic Influence of the second Sophistic on the Sermons of Basil the Great,* in *The Catholic University of America Patristic Series,* Vol. II). Augustine himself was a product of Sophistic and had taught it both at Rome and Milan. However, though Sophistic was so ingrained in his stylistic habits that he never really escaped from it, he was not slow to see, after his conversion, how shallow and extravagant it was, particularly when contrasted with the style of Holy Scripture. Augustine's greatest service to future European literature consisted in pointing out, as he does in this treatise, the futility of rhetoric for rhetoric's sake, and in inaugurating a return to the rhetoric of Cicero as illustrated in the Scriptures. The merits of Scriptural style are but touched on in this treatise and in the *Confessions;* they are discussed at length in Book IV of the *De Doctrina Christiana,* which Augustine finished three years before his death.[14a]

[13] Cf. *De cat. Rud.* 2, S. 10; 4, S. 3, with *Conf.* 1, 1, 1; 13, 35, 50; 13, 38, 53.

[14] Harnack in *Augustins Konfessionen* (Giessen, 1888), 11, writes, *Vieles ist aus den Konfessionen in die Sprache der abendländischen Völker übergegangen;* cf. also Barrett Wendell, 413.

[14a] Cf. C. S. Baldwin, *St. Augustine and the Rhetoric of Cicero,* in *Proceedings of the Classical Association,* 22 (1925), pp. 24-46.

VI. Sources

There are no direct references in this treatise to earlier works on catechetics. The general matter of catechesis could have been acquired from the *Didaché,* the works of Origen (particularly the treatises *Contra Celsum* and *De Principiis*), and from Tertullian and Ambrose. Among those who had written on the Decalogue before Augustine may be mentioned Lactantius in his *Epitome Divinarum Institutionum,* with which Augustine was familiar,[15] and Philo in *De Decalogo.* But though Augustine quotes Philo in his treatise *Contra Faustum* 12, 30, he most probably had never read his treatise on the Decalogue, being influenced against this work by Ambrose, who ignored it.[16] When on the subject of the resurrection of the body Augustine employs the arguments and comparisons, and frequently the very words, of Minucius Felix and Tertullian. The two treatises, however, which resemble most the *De catechizandis Rudibus* are the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* and the *Demonstratio Praedicationis apostolicae* (Εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος) of St. Irenaeus, which was written somewhere about A. D. 190. One has only to read the instructions given in the *Constitutiones Apostolorum,* Lib. VII, Cap. 39, concerning the subject-matter in which candidates for baptism are to be catechized to see how closely they have been followed out by St. Augustine in the present treatise. The similarity likewise between the great liturgical prayer of thanksgiving in *Const. Apost.* Lib. VIII, Cap. 12, and passages in our treatise is striking.[17] The *Demonstratio Praedicationis apostolicae* of St. Irenaeus was discovered in December 1904, in an Armenian translation, by Karapet Ter-Mekerttshian and Erwand Ter-Minassiantz and edited by the same scholars with a German translation in *Texte und Untersuchungen,* 31 Bd., 1 Heft (Leipzig, 1907), to which Dr. Harnack contributed a brief introduction and some notes.[71a] Paul Drews,

[15] Cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei* 18, 23; 4, 30.

[16] Cf. Rentschka, 62.

[17] Cf. Kattenbusch, *Das apostolische Symbol* (Leipzig, 1900), 2, 268.

[71a] A second edition, in which the German translation was corrected, ap-

in an article entitled *Der literarische Charakter der neuentdeckten Schrift des Irenäus "Zum Erweise der apostolischen Verkündigung,"* in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums,* 8 (1907), 226, has shown that St. Augustine in composing his treatise followed substantially, though not slavishly, the instructions outlined in *Const. Apost.* Lib. VII, Cap. 39, and in the same order. The similarity between the *narratio* in the longer model catechesis of our treatise and the Biblical narrative in the work of St. Irenaeus is striking, extending as it does to details. Drews cites the following parallels: Old Testament passages: Aug. Cap. 18 (29) *Quoniam deus omnipotens, et bonus et iustus et misericors,* etc. = Iren. 4. 6. 8. Aug. Cap. 18 (29) *fecit et hominem ad imaginem suam,* etc. = Iren. Cap. 11 and 14. Aug. Cap. 18 (30) *Itaque constituit eos in quodam loco perpetuae beatitudinis, quem appellat scriptura paradisum,* etc. = Iren. Cap. 12, 13, and 15. Aug. Cap. 19 (31) *Neque hoc nos movere debet, quia multi diabolo consentiunt et pauci deum sequuntur,* etc. = Iren. Cap. 18. Aug. 19 (32) *Nam et quod omnes diluvio delevit* = Iren. Cap. 19. Aug. 19 (33) *Neque tunc sane defuerunt iusti . . . Ex quibus Abraham pius et fidelis* = Iren. Cap. 24. Aug. 20 (34) *Populus ergo ille delatus in Aegyptum,* etc. = Iren. Cap. 25 and 26. Aug. 20 (36) *Per multa itaque et varia signa rerum futurarum,* etc. = Iren. Cap. 27. Aug. 20 (36) *Ibi Ierusalem condita est,* etc. = Iren. Cap. 29. Aug. 20 (36) *Ad huius regis praefigurationem . . . maxime eminuit rex David,* etc. = Iren. 29. Aug. 21 (37) *Nam captivata est illa civitas, et multa pars eius educta in Babyloniam* = Iren. Cap. 30. New Testament passages: Aug. 22 (40) *Itaque novum testamentum hereditatis sempiternae manifestans* = Iren. Cap. 31 et sqq. Aug. 23 (41) *Inde confirmatis discipulis,* etc. = Iren. Cap. 41. Drews (op. cit. 231), though considering it very unlikely that Augustine had a copy of the *Demonstratio Praedicationis apostolicae* before him, is convinced that both are derived from the same original, traditional schema. The noticeable

peared at Leipzig in 1908. A fresh translation into German was made in 1912 by Dr. Simon Weber, of the Faculty of Catholic Theology in the University of Freiburg im Breisgau. An English translation by Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, Dean of Wells, appeared in 1920: *St. Irenaeus, The Demonstration of the apostolic Preaching* (London, 1920).

differences in the two treatises do not consist in the new typological illustrations and explanations which Augustine introduces into his *narratio* as occasion requires—for even here the traditional method as seen in the *Demonstratio Praed. apost.* is followed—but rather in the new matter treated in the *narratio* of *De cat. Rud.* This supplementary matter consists in references to the last judgment and in very detailed moral exhortations: cf. *De cat. Rud.* 24 (45) *Siquidem adhuc tribulationes futurae in eisdem scripturis leguntur, et ipse ultimus iudicii dies,* etc.; ibid. 25 (49) *Si autem aliquas vel insultationes vel tribulationes pro nomine Christi passus non defeceris a fide, nec a bona via deviaveris, maiorem mercedem accepturus es: qui autem in his diabolo cesserint, etiam minorem perdunt. Sed humilis esto deo, ut non te permittat tentari ultra vires tuas.* This treatise, therefore, represents the final development of catechesis which we see being gradually evolved in the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* and the *Demonstratio Praedicationis apostolicae*—all three treatises being themselves derived from an original, well-defined, catechetical *Kunstform.*

VII. Style

Augustine was a master of several styles which he employed according to the nature of the work and the occasion; when writing on Holy Scripture he frequently disregarded style altogether.[18] The style of this treatise is simple but correct, moving along clearly and vigorously; the arrangement of matter is logical and methodical. There are whole passages which for elegance, beauty, epigrammatic power,[18a] and unction, can hardly be surpassed. Here

[18] Cf. E. W. Watson, *Stewart's Homilies of St. Augustine,* in *The Classical Review,* 15 (1901), 65.

[18a] Harnack in his book of selections from Augustine (*Augustin: Reflexionen und Maximen,* Tübingen, 1922), takes five from our treatise: No. 36. (Ch. 2, S. 3) *Nam et mihi prope semper sermo meus displicet . . . ;* No. 127 (Ch. 12, S. 17) *iam vero si usitata et parvulis congruentia saepe repetere fastidimus . . .* ; No. 437 (Ch. 8, S. 12) *maximeque commendans in scripturis canonicis admirandae altitudinis saluberrimam humilitatem;* No. 440 (Ch. 4, S. 8) *quapropter in veteri testamento est occultatio novi,*

and there this simple, quiet little treatise shows traces of Sophistic from whose baneful influence Augustine never wholly escaped, but on the whole it faithfully exemplifies the sound rhetorical doctrine laid down by Cicero for moving men to truth. In every line one feels that Augustine was intent solely on delivering his message to all sorts and conditions of men [19] as clearly and convincingly as he could: no style for style's sake alone. We cannot, therefore, apply to this treatise the usual rhetorical tests.[20] If we miss, for exam-

in novo testamento est manifestatio veteris; No. 454 (Ch. 26, S. 50) *de sacramento salis quod accipit, cum ei bene commendatum fuerit, signacula quidem rerum divinarum esse visibilia, sed res ipsas invisibiles in eis honorari.*

[19] Perhaps the most evident distinction between writers of the classical period and Christian writers is seen in the sometimes extravagant efforts of the latter to express themselves in new and irregular forms and compounds and abstract words—the language of the common people. Paraphrasing the "*brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio*" of Horace, we may in this connection say "*intelligibilis esse laboro, rudis fio*," as shown in the substitution of substantives for adjectives, of secondary verbs for the simpler originals, the use of obsolete inflectional forms, a disregard of the strict rules of syntax and a deviation from the old classic import and meaning of numerous words, and in other additions and changes resulting from the need of reaching the common people, to most of whom the elegance and correctness of a Cicero would be in a measure unintelligible. In Ch. 9, S. 13 of this treatise the student will perceive, and give both assent and sympathy to the motives that tolerated these concessions, where St. Augustine teaches the purists that the Almighty heeds the affections of the penitent soul although finding its expression in barbarous and ungrammatical solecisms. St. Paul himself set the example for later Christian writers when he wrote to the Corinthians: "And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not in loftiness of speech or of wisdom; declaring unto you the testimony of Christ."

[20] Bishop Robertson, in his article on Augustine in Wace, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography,* p. 87, writes: "Of Augustine as a writer, Gibbon says: 'His style, though sometimes animated by the eloquence of passion, is usually clouded by false and affected rhetoric.' His verdict would gain in justice if the words 'usually' and 'sometimes' were transposed. Augustine had indeed learned and taught rhetoric to some purpose; but tried by Aristotle's criterion—the revelation of character—Augustine stands far above the category of rhetorical writers. He rarely or never spends words upon mere effect. He is always intent upon bringing home to his hearers or readers things which he feels to be momentously true. He handles sub-

ple, the crispness and terseness of Cicero [21] we must bear in mind that Augustine was not addressing a cultivated audience, as was Cicero. Still, a lover of the great classical authors, while having to alter somewhat his standards of taste,[22] will soon realize that if in this treatise Augustine is sometimes prolix and diffuse, it is for a purpose, and that at bottom he is an authentic interpreter of genuine rhetoric who has admirably adapted classical Latin to a new world of thought.

The treatise, it is true, does give evidence of carelessness and haste in composition, due to Augustine's practice of dictating. In it we miss the classical periodic structure with its distinct emphasis, and well-balanced rhythm; instead we find rather short sentences combined into long, loosely constructed compound sentences, after the manner of modern languages. The influence of Sacred Scripture is everywhere apparent; in fact we might almost term this treatise "Sacred Scripture in solution." To sum up, then, this treatise shows the effect of intense Scripture study superimposed upon a severe classical and rhetorical training.

VIII. Place in Literature

If we judge of a work by the influence it has exerted, then indeed must the *De catechizandis Rudibus* be called a golden little book. Bishop William Turner, writing on St. Augustine in *The Catholic University Bulletin,* 18 (1912), 20, says: "His manual on how to teach Catechism to the unlettered does him more credit, we think, than all his learned works on philosophy and theology." Even in this treatise, small as it is, we may watch the master working in the maturity of genius; we may likewise understand why it is

jects of intimate and vital interest to the human spirit. And whether he is right or wrong, his deep feeling cannot fail to kindle the hearts of those who read him."

[21] Erasmus, though a great admirer of Augustine, described him as "*obscurae subtilitatis et parum amoenae prolixitatis.*" (*Ep.* 20, 2.)

[22] Cf. Bevan, 137, "If what gives any writer or any age the right to 'classical' rank is language used effectively as the vehicle of such thought or feeling as has a permanent interest for mankind, then there is no reason, except an academic convention, to give the writing of Cicero a higher value than that of Augustine."

that only four names can be ranked with Augustine's in the influence they have exerted upon European thought and literature: Cicero, Augustine's master, upon whose writings European prose-style as a work of art is founded; Vergil, whom Augustine loved, the school-book of the Middle Ages; Quintilian, his teacher, upon whose *Institutiones oratoriae* the whole theory and practice of European education is based; and finally Jerome, his friend and fellow-laborer, with the matter and form of whose Vulgate European literature is saturated.

S. AVRELI AVGVSTINI

HIPPONIENSIS EPISCOPI

LIBER

DE CATECHIZANDIS RVDIBVS

Rogatus Augustinus a diacono Carthaginiensi, catechizandi artem docendam suscipit: ac primo praecepta tradit, ut id officii non tantum certa methodo atque idonea ratione, sed etiam sine taedio et cum hilaritate impleatur. Postea revocatis ad usum praeceptis, profert ipse in exemplum sermones, ad eum erudiendum qui Christianus esse velit, comparatos duos, longiorem unum, alterum brevissimum.

(Preface of Benedictine Editors.)

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1 (1) [1]Petisti me, [2]frater [3]Deogratias, [4]ut aliquid ad te de [5]catechizandis [6]rudibus, quod tibi usui esset, scriberem. [7]Dixisti enim quod saepe [8]apud Carthaginem, ubi [8a]diaconus es, ad te adducuntur qui fide Christiana primitus [9]imbuendi sunt, [10]eo quod existimeris habere [10a]catechizandi uberem facultatem, [11]et doctrina Fidei et suavitate sermonis: te autem pene semper angustias pati, idipsum quod credendo Christiani sumus, quo pacto commode [12]intimandum sit; unde exordienda, quo usque sit perducenda [13]narratio; utrum [14]exhortationem aliquam terminata narratione adhibere debeamus, an [15]praecepta sola, quibus observandis cui loquimur noverit Christianam vitam [16]professionemque retineri. Saepe autem tibi accidisse [17]confessus atque conquestus es, ut in sermone longo et tepido [18]tibi ipse vilesceres essesque fastidio, nedum illi quem loquendo imbuebas, et ceteris qui [19]audientes

A Treatise of

SAINT AURELIUS AUGUSTINE

Bishop of Hippo

on

INSTRUCTING CANDIDATES FOR THE CATECHUMENATE

At the request of a deacon of Carthage, Augustine undertakes to teach the art of catechizing. First he delivers precepts, that the duty may be discharged not only on a definite system and in accordance with a reasonable plan, but also without tediousness and in a cheerful spirit. After this, to make a practical application of his precepts, he sets forth as a model for comparison two addresses, one of some length, the other very brief, for the instruction of one who wishes to be a Christian.

CHAPTER 1.

(1) You have asked me, brother Deogratias, to write something to you on the instructing of candidates for the catechumenate that may be of use to you. For you tell me that at Carthage, where you are a deacon, those who are to be grounded in the rudiments of the Christian faith are often brought to you, because you are supposed to possess great ability in catechizing, by reason both of your thorough training in the faith and the charm of your style: but that you are almost always perplexed to discover how suitably to present that truth, the belief in which makes us Christians; where to begin the narration, to what point it should be brought down, and whether at the close of the narration an exhortation should be added, or precepts only, in the observance of which he to whom we are speaking may know that the Christian life and profession are maintained. You have had, moreover, to acknowledge and complain that often, in a long and lukewarm discourse, it has befallen you to become commonplace and wearisome even to yourself, not to mention him whom you were trying to instruct by your discourse, and the others who were

aderant: eaque te necessitate [20]fuisse compulsum, ut ea me quam tibi debeo caritate compelleres, [21]ne gravarer inter [22]occupationes meas tibi de hac re aliquid scribere.

(2) Ego vero non ea tantum quam familiariter tibi, sed etiam quam matri [23]ecclesiae [24]universaliter debeo, caritate ac servitute compellor, si quid [25]per operam meam quam domini nostri largitate possum exhibere, idem eos dominus quos mihi fratres fecit, adiuvari iubet, nullo modo [26]recusare, sed potius prompta et devota voluntate suscipere. Quanto enim cupio latius [27]erogari pecuniam [28]dominicam, tanto magis me oportet, si quam [29]dispensatores conservos meos difficultatem in erogando sentire cognosco, agere quantum in me est, [30]ut facile atque expedite possint, quod impigre ac studiose volunt.

2 (3) Sed quod ad tuam proprie considerationem pertinet, nolim te moveri ex eo quod saepe tibi abiectum [1]sermonem fastidiosumque habere visus es. Fieri enim potest ut ei quem instruebas non ita sit visum, sed quia tu aliquid melius audiri desiderabas, eo tibi quod dicebas videretur [2]indignum auribus aliorum. Nam et mihi prope semper sermo meus displicet. Melioris enim avidus sum, quo saepe fruor interius, antequam eum explicare verbis sonantibus coepero: quod ubi minus quam mihi notus est evaluero, contristor linguam meam cordi meo non [3]potuisse sufficere. [4]Totum enim quod intelligo, volo ut qui me audit intelligat; et sentio me non ita loqui, ut hoc efficiam: maxime quia [5]ille intellectus quasi rapida coruscatione perfundit animum, illa autem [6]locutio tarda et longa est, longeque dissimilis, et dum ista volvitur, iam se ille in secreta sua condidit; tamen, quia [7]vestigia quaedam

present as listeners; and so you have felt obliged earnestly to entreat me, by the affection I owe you, not to consider it troublesome, occupied though I am with other things, to set down for you something on this subject.

(2) For my part, I am constrained not only by the love and service which I owe you as a friend, but also by that which I owe to our mother, the Church, as one of her children (if through my assistance, which by the bounty of our Lord I am able to render, the Lord likewise bids me help in any way those whom He has made my brethren), in no wise to refuse but rather to undertake the task with a ready and earnest will. For the more widely I desire the Lord's treasure to be distributed, the more am I bound when I perceive that the stewards, my fellow-servants, find any difficulty in dispensing it, to do all that I can that they may be able to compass easily and readily what they diligently and earnestly desire.

CHAPTER 2.

(3) But as regards your reflections on your own case, I would not have you be disturbed because you have often seemed to yourself to be delivering a worthless and wearisome discourse. For it may very well be that it was not so regarded by him whom you were endeavoring to instruct, but because you were earnestly desiring to have something better for your hearers, on this account what you were saying did not seem worthy of others' ears. For my part, I am nearly always dissatisfied with my discourse. For I am desirous of something better, which I often inwardly enjoy before I begin to unfold my thought in spoken words; but when I find that my powers of expression come short of my knowledge of the subject, I am sorely disappointed that my tongue has not been able to answer the demands of my mind. For I desire my hearer to understand all that I understand; and I feel that I am not speaking in such a manner as to effect that. This is so chiefly because intuition floods the mind, as it were, with a sudden flash of light, while the expression of it in speech is a slow, drawn-out, and far different process, and while speech is being formed, intellectual apprehension has already hidden itself in its secret recesses; never-

miro modo impressit memoriae, [8]perdurant illa cum syllabarum morulis; atque ex eisdem vestigiis [9]sonantia signa peragimus, quae lingua dicitur vel Latina, vel Graeca, vel Hebraea, vel alia quaelibet, [10]sive cogitentur haec signa, sive etiam voce proferantur; [11]cum illa vestigia nec Latina, nec Graeca, vel Hebraea, [12]nec cuiusque alterius gentis sint propria, sed ita efficiantur in animo, ut vultus in corpore. Aliter enim Latine ira dicitur, aliter Graece, [13]aliter atque aliter aliarum diversitate linguarum: non autem Latinus aut Graecus est vultus irati. Non itaque omnes gentes intelligunt, cum [14]quisque dicit: iratus sum, sed Latini tantum; at si [15]affectus excandescentis animi exeat in faciem vultumque faciat, omnes sentiunt qui intuentur iratum. Sed neque ita licet educere et quasi exporrigere in sensum audientium per sonum vocis illa vestigia, quae imprimit intellectus memoriae, sicut apertus et manifestus est vultus: illa enim sunt intus in animo, iste foris in corpore. Quapropter [16]coniciendum est quantum distet sonus oris nostri ab illo [16a]ictu intelligentiae, quando ne ipsi quidem [17]impressioni memoriae similis est. Nos autem plerumque in auditoris utilitatem vehementer ardentes ita loqui volumus, quemadmodum tunc intelligimus, cum per ipsam [17a]intentionem loqui non possumus; et quia non succedit angimur, et [17b]velut frustra operam insumamus, taedio marcescimus, atque ex ipso taedio languidior fit idem sermo et hebetior quam erat, unde perduxit ad taedium.

(4) Sed mihi saepe indicat eorum studium qui me audire cupiunt, non ita esse [17c]frigidum eloquium meum, ut videtur mihi; et eos inde aliquid utile capere, ex eorum delectatione cognosco, mecumque ago sedulo, [18]ut huic exhibendo ministerio non desim, in quo illos video bene accipere quod exhibetur. Sic et tu, eo ipso

theless, because it has stamped in a wonderful way certain imprints upon the memory, these endure for the length of time it takes to pronounce the words; and from these imprints we construct those audible symbols which are called language, whether it be Latin, or Greek, or Hebrew, or any other tongue, whether these symbols exist in the mind or are actually uttered by the voice, though these marks are neither Latin, nor Greek, nor Hebrew, nor peculiar to any other race, but are produced in the mind as is the expression of the face in the body. For anger is designated by one word in Latin, by another in Greek, and by others again in the various other tongues; but the expression on the face of an angry man is neither Latin nor Greek. Thus it is that not all nations understand when a man says: *Iratus sum,* but Latins only; but if the feeling present in his mind as it kindles to white heat comes out upon his features and gives him a certain look, all who see him understand that he is angry. But again, it is not in our power to bring forth those imprints which intellectual apprehension stamps upon the memory and, as it were, submit them by the sound of our voice to the perception of those listening, in any way parallel to the open and evident expression of the face. For the former are within, in the mind; but the latter is without, in the body. And, therefore, we may infer how much the sound of our voice differs from that instantaneous flash of intellectual apprehension, seeing that it does not resemble even the memory-impression. Often, moreover, burning with a desire to help our hearer, we wish to express ourselves in exact accord with our understanding of the matter at that moment but find that, due to the very strain of our mental effort, we cannot speak; and then because of our failure we are vexed and, as though we were having our pains for naught, we wilt from weariness; and, as the result of this very weariness, our discourse itself becomes more dull even than it was at the moment when it first caused listlessness.

(4) But often the eagerness of those who desire to hear me shows me that my discourse is not so dull as it seems to me. From the enjoyment, too, which they manifest I gather that they receive some benefit from it. And so I take great pains not to fail in offering this service, in which I see what is offered so well received by them. In like manner you also, from the very fact that those

quod ad te saepius adducuntur qui fide imbuendi sunt, debes intelligere non ita displicere aliis sermonem tuum ut displicet tibi, nec infructuosum te debes putare, quod ea quae cernis non explicas ita ut cupis; [19]quando forte ut cupis nec cernere valeas. Quis enim in hac vita nisi [20]in aenigmate et per speculum videt? Nec ipse amor tantus est, ut [21]carnis disrupta caligine penetret in [22]aeternum serenum, unde utcumque fulgent etiam ista quae transeunt. Sed quia boni proficiunt de die in diem ad videndum diem [23]sine volumine caeli et [24]sine noctis incursu, [25]quem oculus non videt, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis adscendit; nulla maior causa est cur nobis in imbuendis rudibus noster sermo [26]vilescat, nisi quia [27]libet inusitate cernere et taedet usitate proloqui. Et re quidem vera multo gratius audimur, cum et [28]nos eodem opere delectamur: afficitur enim [29]filum locutionis nostrae ipso nostro gaudio, et exit facilius atque [30]acceptius. Quapropter non arduum est negotium, ea quae credenda [31]insinuantur, praecipere unde et quo usque narranda sint; nec quomodo sit varianda [32]narratio, ut aliquando brevior, aliquando longior, semper tamen [33]plena atque perfecta sit; et quando breviore, et quando longiore sit utendum: sed quibus modis faciendum sit, ut gaudens quisque catechizet (tanto enim suavior erit, quanto magis id potuerit), ea cura maxima est. Et praeceptum quidem rei huius in promtu est. Si enim in pecunia corporali, quanto magis in spiritali [34]hilarem datorem diligit deus? Sed haec hilaritas ad horam ut adsit, eius est misericordiae qui ista praecepit. Itaque prius de modo narrationis quod te velle cognovi, tum de praecipiendo atque [35]cohortando, postea de hac [36]hilaritate comparanda, quae deus [37]suggesserit, disseremus.

who are to be instructed in the faith are so often brought to you, ought to be convinced that your discourse is not so unsatisfactory to others as to yourself, and you ought not to account your efforts fruitless simply because you do not express as clearly as you desire the things which you perceive; since perhaps you cannot even perceive them as you desire. For who in this life sees except as "in a dark manner and through a glass?" And not even love itself is so mighty as to rend asunder the gross darkness of the flesh and pierce to that eternal clearness from which even transitory things derive their radiance, such as it is. But because the good are advancing from day to day toward the vision of that day which knows neither revolution of the heavens nor onset of night, that day "that eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man", there is no greater reason why our discourse becomes cheapened in our eyes when teaching candidates than that we like to discern the truth in an unusual way but weary of expressing it in the usual manner. Indeed, people listen to us with much greater pleasure when we ourselves take pleasure in this same work of instruction, for the thread of our discourse is affected by the very joy that we ourselves experience, and as a consequence is delivered more easily and received more gratefully. Accordingly, it is no hard task to give directions in regard to those truths which are instilled as articles of faith,—where the narration should be begun and where ended; and again, how it should be varied, so as to be shorter at one time, longer at another, and yet at all times absolutely complete, and when the shorter and when the longer form should be used. But our chief concern must be how to bring it about that one may take pleasure in catechizing; for the more he is able to do so, the more agreeable will he prove. And a precept indeed for this is ready at hand. For if in the case of material wealth God loves a cheerful giver, how much more in that of spiritual? But that the catechist may have this cheerfulness in the hour of need depends on the mercy of Him Who has given these commandments. Therefore, we will discuss, as God shall suggest to us, first the method to be followed in the narration—as I understand is your desire—, then the duty of admonition and exhortation, and lastly the means by which the cheerfulness in question is to be secured.

3 (5) Narratio plena est, cum quisque primo catechizatur ab eo quod scriptum est: *In principio fecit deus caelum et terram,* usque [1]ad praesentia tempora ecclesiae. Non tamen propterea debemus totum [2]pentateuchum, totosque iudicum et [3]regnorum et Esdrae libros, totumque [4]evangelium et actus apostolorum, vel, si [5]ad verbum edidicimus, [6]memoriter reddere, vel nostris verbis omnia quae his continentur voluminibus narrando evolvere et explicare; quod nec tempus capit, nec ulla necessitas postulat: sed cuncta summatim generatimque complecti, ita ut eligantur quaedam mirabiliora quae suavius audiuntur atque [7]in ipsis articulis constituta sunt, ut ea tamquam in [8]involucris ostendere statimque a conspectu abripere non oporteat, sed aliquantum immorando quasi resolvere atque expandere, et inspicienda atque miranda offerre animis auditorum; cetera vero celeri percursione inserendo contexere. Ita et illa quae maxime [9]commendari volumus aliorum submissione magis eminent; nec ad ea fatigatus pervenit [10]quem narrando volumus excitare, nec illius memoria confunditur quem docendo debemus instruere.

(6) In omnibus sane non tantum nos oportet intueri [11]praecepti finem, quod est caritas de corde puro et conscientia bona et fide non ficta, quo ea quae loquimur cuncta referamus; sed etiam illius quem loquendo instruimus, ad id movendus atque illuc dirigendus adspectus est. Neque enim ob aliud ante adventum domini scripta sunt omnia quae in sanctis scripturis legimus, nisi ut illius commendaretur adventus et futura praesignaretur ecclesia, id est, populus dei per omnes gentes, [12]quod est corpus eius; adiunctis atque annumeratis omnibus [13]sanctis, [14]qui etiam ante adventum eius in hoc saeculo vixerunt, ita eum credentes venturum esse, sicut nos venisse. Sicut enim Iacob manum prius dum nasceretur emisit ex utero, qua etiam pedem praenascentis fratris tenebat,

CHAPTER 3.

(5) The narration is complete when the beginner is first instructed from the text "In the beginning God created heaven and earth" down to the present period of Church history. That does not mean, however, that we ought to repeat verbatim the whole of the Pentateuch, and all the books of Judges and Kingdoms and Esdras, and the entire Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles (if we have learned them by heart), or relate in our own words all that is contained in these books, and thus develop and explain them; for which neither time serves nor any need calls. But we ought to present all the matter in a general and comprehensive summary, choosing certain of the more remarkable facts that are heard with greater pleasure and constitute the cardinal points in history; these we ought not to present as a parchment rolled up and at once snatch them out of sight, but we ought by dwelling somewhat upon them to untie, so to speak, and spread them out to view, and offer them to the minds of our hearers to examine and admire. But the remaining details we should weave into our narrative in a rapid survey. In this way not only are the points which we desire most to emphasize brought into greater prominence by keeping the others in the background, but also he whose interest we are anxious to stimulate by the narration does not reach them with a mind already exhausted, and we avoid confusing the memory of him whom we ought to instruct by our teaching.

(6) In all things, indeed, it not only behooves us to keep in view the goal of the precept, which is "charity from a pure heart, and a good conscience, and an unfeigned faith"—a standard to which we should make all that we say refer; but towards it we should also move and direct the attention of him for whose instruction we are speaking. And, in truth, for no other reason were all the things that we read in the Holy Scriptures written before our Lord's coming than to announce His coming and to prefigure the Church to be, that is to say, the people of God throughout all nations, which Church is His body, in which are included and numbered all the just who lived in this world even before His coming and who believed that He would come as we believe that He has come. For as Jacob, when he was being born, put forth first from the womb his hand,

deinde [14a]utique [15]secutum est caput, tum demum necessario membra cetera (sed tamen caput non tantum ea membra quae secuta sunt, sed etiam ipsam manum quae in nascendo praecessit, [16]dignitate ac potestate praecedit, et quamvis non tempore apparendi, tamen naturae ordine prius est) ; ita et dominus [17]Iesus Christus etsi antequam appareret in carne et quodam modo ex utero secreti sui ad hominum oculos mediator dei et hominum homo procederet, [18]qui est super omnes deus benedictus in saecula, [19]praemisit in sanctis patriarchis et prophetis quamdam partem corporis sui, qua velut manu se nasciturum esse praenuntians, etiam populum praecedentem superbe, [20]vinculis legis tamquam digitis quinque supplantavit (quia et per quinque temporum articulos praenuntiari [21]venturus prophetarique [22]non destitit; et huic rei consonans [23]per quem lex data est, quinque libros conscripsit; et superbi [24]carnaliter sentientes et suam iustitiam volentes constituere, non aperta manu Christi repleti sunt [25]benedictione, sed [26]constricta atque conclusa retenti sunt; itaque [27]illis obligati sunt pedes et ceciderunt, nos autem surreximus et erecti sumus) ; quamvis ergo, ut dixi, praemiserit dominus Christus quamdam partem corporis sui in sanctis, qui eum nascendi tempore praeierunt; tamen [28]ipse est caput corporis ecclesiae, illique omnes eidem corpori cuius ille caput est cohaeserunt, [29]credendo in eum quem praenuntiabant. Non enim [30]praecurrendo divulsi sunt, sed adiuncti potius obsequendo. Nam etsi manus a capite praemitti potest, conexio tamen eius sub capite est. Quapropter [31]*omnia quae ante scripta sunt, ut nos doceremur scripta sunt, et figurae nostrae fuerunt; et in figura* [32]*contingebant in eis;* [33]*scripta sunt autem propter nos, in quos finis saeculorum obvenit.*

with which he also held the foot of his brother who was being born before him, his head, of course, followed next, and lastly of necessity the remaining members of his body; yet, for all that, in dignity and power the head comes not only before those members which followed it, but even before the hand which in the process of birth outstripped it; and although not in the time of its appearance, yet in the order of nature it is prior: so too our Lord Jesus Christ, "Who is over all, God blessed forever," even before He appeared in the flesh and in a sense came forth from the womb of His secret dwelling before the eyes of men as Mediator between God and men, sent before Him in the persons of the holy Patriarchs and Prophets some part of His body, with which as with a hand He foretokened His future birth, and also in the bonds of the law, as by five fingers, seized by the heel and overthrew the people who went before Him in pride. For through five epochs His future coming ceased not to be foretold and prophesied, and in keeping with this, he through whom the law was given wrote five books; and that proud people being carnal-minded, and seeking to establish their own righteousness, were not filled with blessing from the open hand of Christ, but were shut out from it by that hand clenched and closed, and so their feet were bound and "they fell, but we are risen, and are set upright." Although, therefore, as I have said, the Lord Christ sent forth before Him a part of His body in the persons of the just who preceded Him in the time of their birth, nevertheless He is Himself the head of His body, the Church, and by believing in Him Whom they foreshadowed all of them clave to that same body of which He is the head. For they were not separated from Him by being His precursors, but rather were they joined to Him by their obedience to His will. For although the hand may be put forth before by the head, yet its connection with the body is below the head. Therefore "all things that were written beforehand were written for our learning and were lessons for us, and by way of lesson happened one after another to them. Moreover, they were written for our sakes unto whom the consummation of the ages has reached."

4 (7) Quae autem maior causa est adventus domini, nisi ut [1]ostenderet deus [1a]dilectionem suam, in nobis commendans eam vehementer; quia [2]cum adhuc inimici essemus, Christus pro nobis mortuus est? Hoc autem ideo, quia [3]finis praecepti et plenitudo legis caritas est, ut et nos invicem diligamus, et [4]quemadmodum ille pro nobis animam suam posuit, sic et nos pro fratribus animam ponamus, et ipsum deum, [5]quoniam prior dilexit nos, et [6]filio suo unico non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit eum, si amare pigebat, [7]saltem nunc redamare non pigeat. [8]Nulla est enim maior ad amorem invitatio, quam praevenire amando; et nimis durus est animus qui dilectionem si nolebat [9]impendere, nolit rependere. [10]Quodsi in ipsis flagitiosis et sordidis amoribus videmus, nihil aliud eos agere qui amari vicissim volunt, nisi ut documentis quibus valent aperiant et ostendant quantum ament, eamque imaginem iustitiae praetendere affectant, ut vicem sibi reddi quodam modo flagitent ab eis animis, quos illecebrare moliuntur, ipsique ardentius aestuant, cum iam moveri eodem igne etiam illas mentes quas appetunt sentiunt; si ergo et animus qui torpebat, cum se amari senserit excitatur, et qui iam fervebat, cum se redamari didicerit, magis accenditur: manifestum est nullam esse maiorem causam qua vel [11]inchoetur vel augeatur amor, quam cum amari se cognoscit qui nondum amat aut redamari se vel posse sperat, vel iam probat, qui prior amat. Et si hoc etiam in turpibus amoribus, quanto plus in amicitia? Quid enim aliud cavemus in offensione amicitiae, nisi ne amicus arbitretur quod eum vel non diligimus, vel minus diligimus quam ipse nos diligit? Quod si crediderit, frigidior erit in eo amore quo invicem homines mutua [12]familiaritate perfruuntur; [13]et si non ita est infirmus, ut haec illum offensio faciat ab omni dilectione frigescere, in ea se tenet, qua non ut fruatur, sed ut consulat diligit.

CHAPTER 4.

(7) Moreover, what greater reason could there be for the Lord's coming than that God might manifest His love, ardently recommending it in our persons; because "when as yet we were enemies, Christ died for us"? And for this reason, that, inasmuch as love is the "end of the commandment" and the "fulfilment of the law," we also may love one another, and even as He laid down His life for us, so we also may lay down our life for the brethren. And with regard to God Himself, inasmuch as He first loved us and spared not His only Son, but delivered Him up for us all, even if at first we found it irksome to love Him, now at least, it should not prove irksome to return that love. For there is nothing that invites love more than to be beforehand in loving: and that heart is overhard which, even though it were unwilling to bestow love, would be unwilling to return it. But if we see that even in the case of sinful and base attachments those who desire to be loved in return make it their one concern to disclose and display by all the tokens in their power how much they love; if they also strive to counterfeit genuine affection in order that they may, in some measure, claim a return of love from the hearts which they are designing to ensnare; if, again, their own passions are the more inflamed when they perceive that the hearts which they are eager to win are also moved now by the same fire; if then, I say, both the hitherto callous heart is aroused when it is sensible of being loved, and the heart which was already aflame is the more inflamed the moment it learns that it is loved in return, it is obvious that there is no greater reason either for the birth or growth of love than when one, who as yet does not love, perceives that he is loved, or when he who loves already hopes either that he may yet be loved in return, or actually has proof that he is loved. And if this holds good even in the case of base passions, how much more so in friendship? For what else do we have to be on our guard against in an offense against friendship than that our friend should think either that we do not love him, or that we love him less than he loves us. And if he believes this, he will be cooler in that love which men enjoy by the exchange of intimacy; and if he is not so weak that this offense causes him to grow cold in his affection altogether, he yet restricts himself to that form of affection which has as its object not enjoyment but utility.

[13a]Operae pretium est autem [14]animadvertere, quomodo, [15]quamquam et superiores velint se ab inferioribus diligi [16]eorumque in se studioso delectentur obsequio, et quanto magis id senserint, tanto magis eos diligant, tamen quanto amore exardescat inferior, cum a superiore se diligi senserit. Ibi enim gratior amor est, [17]ubi non aestuat indigentiae siccitate, sed ubertate beneficentiae profluit. Ille namque amor ex miseria est, iste ex misericordia. Iam vero si etiam se amari posse a superiore desperabat inferior, [18]ineffabiliter commovebitur in amorem, si ultro ille fuerit [19]dignatus ostendere quantum diligat eum qui nequaquam sibi tantum bonum promittere auderet. [20]Quid autem superius deo iudicante, et quid desperatius homine peccante? qui se tanto magis [20a]tuendum et subiugandum superbis potestatibus addixerat quae [21]beatificare non possunt, quanto magis desperaverat posse sui [22]curam geri ab ea potestate quae non malitia sublimis esse vult, sed bonitate sublimis est.

(8) Si ergo maxime propterea Christus advenit, ut cognosceret homo quantum eum diligat deus, et ideo cognosceret, ut in eius dilectionem a quo prior dilectus est inardesceret, proximumque illo iubente et demonstrante diligeret, [23]qui non proximum, sed longe peregrinantem diligendo factus est proximus; omnisque scriptura divina quae ante scripta est, ad praenuntiandum adventum domini scripta est, et quidquid postea [23a]mandatum est litteris et divina auctoritate firmatum, Christum narrat et dilectionem monet: manifestum est non tantum [24]totam legem et prophetas in illis duobus pendere praeceptis dilectionis dei et proximi, quae adhuc sola scriptura sancta erat, cum hoc dominus diceret, sed etiam quaecumque posterius salubriter [25]conscripta sunt [25a]memoriaeque mandata divinarum volumina litterarum. Quapropter [26]in veteri testamento est occultatio novi, in novo testamento est manifestatio veteris. Secundum illam occultationem [27]carnaliter intelligentes carnales, et tunc et nunc poenali timore subiugati sunt. Secundum hanc autem

But again, it is worth while to observe how, although even those that are superior desire to be loved by those that are inferior and are pleased by the eager deference these give them—and the more they become sensible of this affection the more they love them—yet, with how much love is one who is inferior fired when he discovers that he is loved by him who is superior. For love is more welcome when it is not burnt up with the drought of want, but issues forth from the overflowing stream of beneficence. For the former springs from misery, the latter from mercy. And, furthermore, if the inferior person has been despairing that even he could be loved by the superior one, he will now be unspeakably moved to love if the superior one deigns of his own accord to show him how much he loves one who could by no means venture to promise himself so great a blessing. But what could be higher than God when He judges, and what more hopeless than man when he sins?—than man who had so much the more submitted himself to the custody and dominion of insolent powers which cannot make him blessed, as he had the more despaired of the possibility of becoming the care of that power which wills not to be exalted in wickedness but is exalted in goodness?

(8) If, therefore, Christ came chiefly that man might learn how much God loves him, and might learn this to the end that he might begin to glow with love of Him by Whom he was first loved, and so might love his neighbor at the bidding and after the example of Him Who made Himself man's neighbor by loving him, when instead of being His neighbor he was wandering far from Him; if, moreover, all divine Scripture that was written before was written to foretell the coming of the Lord, and if whatever has since been committed to writing and established by divine authority tells of Christ and counsels love, then it is evident that on these two commandments of the love of God and the love of our neighbor depend not merely the whole law and the prophets (which at the time when the Lord uttered these precepts were as yet the only Holy Scripture), but also all the inspired books that have been written at a later period for our welfare and handed down to us. Therefore, in the Old Testament the New is concealed, and in the New the Old is revealed. In keeping with that concealment, carnal men, understanding only carnally, both then were, and now are, made subject to the fear of punishment. But in keeping with

manifestationem [28]spiritales, et tunc quibus pie pulsantibus etiam occulta patuerunt, et nunc qui non superbe quaerunt, ne etiam aperta claudantur, spiritaliter intelligentes donata caritate liberati sunt. Quia ergo caritati nihil [29]adversius quam [30]invidentia, [31]mater autem invidentiae superbia est: idem dominus Iesus Christus, deus homo, et [32]divinae in nos dilectionis indicium est et humanae apud nos humilitatis exemplum, [33]ut magnus tumor noster maiore contraria medicina sanaretur. Magna est enim [34]miseria, superbus homo, sed maior misericordia, [35]humilis deus.

Hac ergo dilectione tibi tamquam fine proposita, quo referas omnia quae dicis, quidquid narras ita narra, ut ille [36]cui loqueris [37]audiendo credat, credendo speret, sperando amet.

5 (9) [1]De ipsa etiam severitate dei, qua corda mortalium saluberrimo terrore quatiuntur, caritas aedificanda est, ut ab eo quem timet, amari se gaudens, eum redamare audeat eiusque in se dilectioni, etiamsi impune posset, tamen displicere vereatur. Rarissime quippe accidit, immo vero numquam, ut quisquam veniat volens fieri Christianus, qui non sit aliquo [2]dei timore perculsus. Si enim aliquod commodum exspectando ab hominibus, quibus se aliter placiturum non putat, aut aliquod ab hominibus incommodum devitando, quorum offensionem aut inimicitias reformidat, vult fieri Christianus; non [3]fieri vult potius quam fingere. Fides enim non res est salutantis corporis, sed credentis animi. Sed plane saepe adest misericordia dei per ministerium catechizantis, ut sermone commotus iam fieri velit quod decreverat fingere; quod cum velle coeperit, tunc eum venisse deputemus. Et occultum quidem nobis est quando veniat animo quem iam corpore praesentem videmus; sed tamen sic cum eo debemus agere, ut fiat in illo haec voluntas, etiamsi non est; nihil enim deperit, quando si est, utique tali

this revelation spiritual men, understanding spiritually (both those of former times to whom, when they devoutly knocked, hidden things were revealed, and those of the present time, who do not seek in pride, lest even what is manifest should be hidden from them), are made free by the bestowal of love. Since therefore nothing is more opposed to love than envy, and the mother of envy is pride, the same Lord Jesus Christ, God-Man, is at once a token of divine love towards us and an example among us of man's lowliness, to the end that our swollen conceit, great as it is, might be healed by an even greater antidote. For the misery of man's pride is great, but the mercy of God's humility is greater.

With this love, then, set before you as an end to which you may refer all that you say, so give all your instructions that he to whom you speak by hearing may believe, and by believing may hope, and by hoping may love.

CHAPTER 5.

(9) Moreover, love must be built up out of that very sternness of God, which makes man's heart quail with a most salutary fear, so that man, rejoicing to find himself loved by Him Whom he fears, may make bold to love Him in return, and at the same time may shrink from offending His love towards himself, even if he could do so with impunity. For very rarely, nay, never, does it happen that any one comes to us with the desire to become a Christian, who has not been smitten with some fear of God. For if he wishes to become a Christian in the hope of deriving some benefit from men whom he thinks he could not otherwise please, or to escape some injury at the hands of men whose displeasure or enmity he dreads, he in reality does not wish to become a Christian so much as he wishes to feign being one. For faith consists not in a body bending but in a mind believing. But undoubtedly the mercy of God is often present through the ministry of the catechist, so that a man impressed by the discourse now wishes to become in reality what he had decided to feign. And when he does begin to desire this let us assume that now at least he has come in earnest. And although it is hidden from us when it is that one whom we now see present in the body does really come in spirit, we should, nevertheless, deal with him in such a manner that he may conceive this desire even though it does not as yet exist. For

nostra actione firmatur, quamvis quo tempore, vel qua hora coeperit, ignoremus. Utile est sane ut praemoneamur antea, si fieri potest, ab iis qui eum norunt, in quo statu animi sit, vel [4]quibus causis commotus [5]ad suscipiendam religionem venerit. Quodsi defuerit alius a quo id noverimus, etiam ipse interrogandus est, ut ex eo quod responderit ducamus sermonis exordium. Sed si [6]ficto pectore accessit, humana commoda cupiens vel incommoda fugiens, utique mentiturus est: tamen ex eo ipso quod mentitur, capiendum est principium, non ut refellatur eius mendacium, quasi tibi certum sit, sed ut si dixerit eo proposito se venisse quod vere approbandum est, sive ille verum sive falsum dicat, tale tamen propositum quali se venisse respondit, [7]approbantes atque laudantes, [8]faciamus eum delectari esse se talem, qualem videri cupit. Si autem [9]aliud dixerit quam oportet esse in animo eius qui Christiana fide [10]imbuendus est [11]blandius et lenius reprehendendo tamquam rudem et ignarum, et Christianae doctrinae finem verissimum demonstrando atque laudando breviter et graviter, ne aut tempora futurae narrationis occupes aut eam non prius collocato animo audeas imponere, [12]facias eum velle quod aut per [13]errorem aut per simulationem nondum volebat.

6 (10) Quod si forte se divinitus admonitum vel territum esse responderit, ut fieret Christianus, laetissimum nobis exordiendi aditum praebet, quanta deo sit cura pro nobis. Sane [1]ab huiusmodi miraculorum sive somniorum ad scripturarum [1a]solidiorem viam et oracula certiora transferenda est eius intentio, ut et illa admonitio quam [2]misericorditer ei praerogata sit, noverit [3]antequam scripturis sanctis inhaereret. Et [4]utique demonstrandum est ei quod ipse

none of our labor is wasted, since if the desire is there, it is in any case strengthened by such dealing on our part, although we may be ignorant of the time or of the hour at which it began. It is well, certainly, to be informed, if possible, beforehand by those who know him of his state of mind and of the causes that have induced him to come and embrace religion. But if there be no one else from whom we may learn this, we must question the candidate himself so that from his answers we may draw an opening for our instruction. But if he has come with a counterfeit motive, desirous only of temporal advantages, or thinking to escape some loss, he will, of course, lie. Yet you must derive your beginning from the very lie he tells. You must not do this, however, with the intention of unmasking his false pretense, as though sure of it; but if he says that he came with such an intention as is really praiseworthy, whether he be speaking the truth or not, we should nevertheless so approve and praise such an intention as that with which, according to his own reply, he came, as to make him take delight in being actually such as he desires to seem. But if, on the other hand, he says anything other than what ought to be in the mind of one who is about to receive first instructions in the Christian faith, then both by chiding him indulgently and gently, as you would an uninstructed and ignorant person, and by pointing out and praising the true goal of Christian teaching briefly and impressively, so as neither to encroach on the time allotted for the narration which is to follow, nor to venture to impose that teaching upon a mind not previously prepared for it, you may cause him to wish what, either through ignorance or pretense, he had not heretofore wished.

CHAPTER 6.

(10) But if peradventure he answers that his becoming a Christian is the result of a warning or dread inspired from on high, he affords us a most happy opportunity for an opening on God's great care for us. We should direct his thoughts from the guidance of wonders or dreams of this kind to the more solid path and the more trustworthy oracles of the Scriptures; so that he may also understand how mercifully that warning was vouchsafed him before he applied himself to the Holy Scriptures. And we should by

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dominus non eum admoneret aut compelleret fieri Christianum et [5]incorporari ecclesiae, [6]seu talibus signis aut [7]revelationibus erudiret, nisi iam praeparatum [8]iter in scripturis sanctis, ubi non quaereret [9]visibilia miracula, sed invisibilia sperare consuesceret, [10]neque dormiens, sed vigilans moneretur, eum securius et tutius carpere voluisset. Inde iam exordienda narratio est, ab eo quod [11]fecit deus omnia bona valde, et perducenda, ut diximus, usque ad praesentia tempora ecclesiae, ita ut singularum rerum atque gestorum quae narramus, [12]causae rationesque reddantur, quibus ea referamus ad illum finem dilectionis, unde [13]neque agentis aliquid neque loquentis oculus avertendus est. Si enim [14]fictas poetarum fabulas et ad [15]voluptatem excogitatas animorum quorum cibus nugae sunt, tamen [16]boni qui habentur atque appellantur grammatici, [17]ad aliquam utilitatem referre conantur, quamquam et ipsam vanam et avidam [18]saginae saecularis; quanto nos decet esse cautiores, ne illa quae vera narramus, sine suarum causarum [19]redditione digesta, aut inani suavitate aut etiam perniciosa cupiditate credantur. [20]Non tamen sic asseramus has causas, ut [21]relicto narrationis tractu cor nostrum et lingua in nodos difficilioris disputationis excurrat, sed ipsa veritas adhibitae narrationis quasi aurum sit gemmarum ordinem ligans, non tamen ornamenti seriem ulla immoderatione perturbans.

7 (11) Narratione finita spes [1]resurrectionis intimanda est, et pro capacitate ac viribus audientis, proque ipsius temporis modulo, adversus [2]vanas irrisiones infidelium de corporis resurrectione tractandum et futuri ultimi iudicii [3]bonitate in bonos, severitate in malos, veritate in omnes; commemoratisque cum detestatione et horrore poenis impiorum, regnum [4]iustorum atque fidelium et

all means point out to him that the Lord Himself would not be warning or constraining him to become a Christian and a member of the Church, or training him by such signs or revelations, if He had not wished him, for his greater safety and security, to walk in the way already provided in the Holy Scriptures, wherein he should not seek visible miracles but accustom himself to hope for those that are invisible and should receive warnings not when sleeping but when awake. At this point we should begin our narration, starting out from the fact that "God made all things very good," and continuing, as we have said, down to the present period of Church history, in such a way as to account for and explain the causes and reasons of each of the facts and events that we relate, and thereby refer them to that end of love from which in all our actions and words our eyes should never be turned away. For if, even as regards the fictitious tales of the poets, which were devised for the pleasure of minds that feed on trifles, the grammarians who are regarded and called good do nevertheless try to make them serve some useful purpose even though that very purpose be vain and greedy of worldly diet, how much more careful ought we to be lest the truths, which we relate without a well-ordered statement of their causes, should be accepted either for their own charm or even through a harmful curiosity in our hearers. Yet, at the same time, let us not set forth these causes in such a way as to abandon the course of the narration and permit our heart and tongue to stray into the more tangled mazes of controversy. But let the simple truth of the reason that we employ be like the gold which holds together in harmonious arrangement the jewels of an ornament without becoming itself unduly conspicuous.

CHAPTER 7.

(11) At the conclusion of the narration we should make known to him the hope in the resurrection, and with due regard for the capacity and powers of our hearer and the time at our disposal, combat by discussion the vain scoffings of unbelievers about the resurrection of the body, and speak to him of the last judgment to come, with its goodness towards the good, its severity towards the wicked, its certainty in relation to all. And after the punishments of the wicked have thus been recounted with loathing and horror,

superna illa civitas eiusque gaudium [4]cum desiderio praedicandum est. Tum vero instruenda et animanda est infirmitas hominis adversus [5]tentationes et [6]scandala, sive foris sive in ipsa intus ecclesia: foris adversus [7]Gentiles vel [8]Iudaeos vel haereticos, intus autem adversus [9]areae dominicae paleam. Non ut contra singula [10]perversorum genera disputetur omnesque illorum pravae opiniones propositis quaestionibus refellantur; sed pro tempore brevi demonstrandum est ita esse praedictum, et quae sit utilitas tentationum erudiendis fidelibus, et quae medicina in exemplo patientiae dei, qui statuit usque in finem ista permittere.

Cum vero adversus eos instruitur, quorum [11]perversae turbae [12]corporaliter implent ecclesias, simul etiam praecepta breviter et decenter commemorentur Christianae atque honestae [13]conversationis, ne ab ebriosis, avaris, fraudatoribus, aleatoribus, adulteris, [14]fornicatoribus, [15]spectaculorum amatoribus, [16]remediorum sacrilegorum alligatoribus, [17]praecantatoribus, mathematicis, vel quarumlibet artium vanarum et malarum [18]divinatoribus, atque huiusmodi ceteris ita facile seducatur et impunitum sibi fore arbitretur, quia videt multos qui Christiani appellantur, haec amare et agere et defendere [19]et suadere et persuadere. Quis enim finis praestitutus sit in tali vita perseverantibus, et quam sint in ipsa ecclesia tolerandi, ex qua in fine separandi sunt, divinorum librorum testimoniis edocendum est. Praenuntiandum est etiam inventurum eum in ecclesia multos Christianos bonos, verissimos [20]cives [21]caelestis Ierusalem, si esse ipse coeperit. Ad extremum [22]ne spes eius in homine ponatur, sedulo monendus est: quia neque facile ab homine iudicari potest quis homo sit iustus, et si facile posset, non ideo nobis proponi exempla iustorum, ut ab eis iustificemur, sed ut eos imitantes ab eorum [23]iustificatore nos quoque iustificari sciamus. Hinc enim fiet, quod maxime commendandum est, ut cum

we should describe with eager longing the kingdom of the righteous and faithful, and that city in heaven with its joys. Then, indeed, the natural infirmity of man should be armed and encouraged against temptations and stumbling-blocks, whether without or within the Church itself—without, as against pagans or Jews or heretics; within, as against the chaff of the Lord's threshing-floor. This does not mean, however, that we are to argue against each class of perverse men, and refute all their crooked opinions by set arguments; but, as the shortness of time permits, we should show how this was so foretold, and point out in what way trials are profitable in training the faithful, and what a remedy there is in the example afforded by the forbearance of God, Who has resolved to permit them to continue even unto the end.

But, again, when the candidate is being provided against those depraved persons who in mobs fill the churches in a bodily sense only, let also the precepts of a Christian, upright manner of life be at the same time briefly and appropriately presented, that he may not be so easily led away by men who are drunkards, covetous, extortioners, gamblers, adulterers, fornicators, lovers of shows, wearers of idolatrous charms, soothsayers, astrologers, or diviners employing vain and unholy arts, or any other such like persons; and because he sees many who are called Christians given to these practices and doing them and championing and recommending and promoting the adoption of them, he may not imagine that he can do such things and still go unpunished. For as to what is the end appointed for those who persist in such a life, and how they must be endured even in the Church itself, from which they are destined to be separated in the end, we must instruct him fully by the evidences from the sacred books. We should also assure him that he will find many good Christians in the Church, most true citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, if he begins to be such himself. Finally, we must earnestly caution him against placing his hope in man, for it cannot easily be judged by man what man is righteous; and tell him that even if it could easily be done, still the examples of righteous men are set before us not that we may be justified by them but that we may know that, if we imitate them, we also shall be justified by Him Who justified them. The result will be what we must especially commend, namely, that when he who is listening to us, or rather listening to

[24]ille qui nos audit, immo per nos audit deum, [25]moribus et scientia proficere coeperit et viam Christi alacriter ingredi, nec nobis id audeat assignare, nec sibi; sed et seipsum et nos et quoscunque alios diligit amicos, [26]in illo et propter illum diligat [27]qui eum dilexit inimicum, ut iustificans faceret amicum. Hic iam non te puto praeceptore indigere, ut cum occupata sunt tempora, vel tua, vel eorum qui te audiunt, breviter agas; cum autem largiora, largius eloquaris; hoc enim nullo admonente ipsa necessitas praecipit.

8 (12) Sed illud plane non praetereundum est, ut si ad te quisquam [1]catechizandus venerit [2]liberalibus doctrinis excultus, qui iam decreverit esse Christianus, et ideo venerit ut fiat, difficillimum omnino est ut non multa nostrarum scripturarum litterarumque cognoverit, quibus iam instructus ad [3]sacramentorum [4]participationem tantummodo venerit. Tales enim non eadem hora qua Christiani fiunt, sed ante solent omnia diligenter inquirere, et motus animi sui, cum quibus possunt, communicare atque [5]discutere. Cum his itaque breviter agendum est, et non [6]odiose [6a]inculcando quae norunt, sed modeste [7]perstringendo, ita ut dicamus nos credere quod iam noverint illud atque illud; atque hoc modo cursim enumerare omnia quae [7a]rudibus indoctisque inculcanda sunt, [8]ut etsi quid novit eruditus iste, non tamquam a doctore audiat, et si quid adhuc ignorat, dum ea commemoramus quae illum nosse iam credimus, discat. [9]Nec ipse sane inutiliter interrogatur, quibus rebus motus sit ut velit esse Christianus; ut si libris ei persuasum esse videris, sive [10]canonicis sive utilium [11]tractatorum, de his aliquid

God through us, begins to make progress in morality and knowledge and to enter upon the way of Christ with eagerness he will not venture to ascribe the change either to us or to himself, but will love both himself and us, and any other friends he loves, in Him and for His sake, Who loved him when he was yet an enemy, in order that by justifying him He might make him a friend. And at this point of your instruction I do not think you need a monitor to tell you that when there are many calls on your own or your hearer's time you should be brief; and that, on the other hand, you should speak at greater length when you have more time at your disposal. For mere necessity will teach you this without anyone advising it.

CHAPTER 8.

(12) But there is one thing which should obviously not be overlooked: I mean that if some one well versed in liberal studies, who has already made up his mind to be a Christian, comes to you to be catechized, and has come with the express intention of becoming a Christian, it can scarcely be that he has not already acquired a considerable knowledge of our Scriptures and literature, and thus already equipped has come now only to be made a partaker in the sacraments. For such men are wont to investigate carefully every point beforehand, and not at the very hour in which they become Christians; beforehand also they are wont to make known the workings of their own minds to such others as they can and discuss them with them. With these, therefore, we must be brief and not dwell with annoying insistence upon things which they know, but, with discretion, touch slightly upon them. So that, for example, we may say that we believe they are already familiar with such and such a point; and in this way we pass rapidly in review all that has to be impressed upon the minds of the ignorant and unlearned; so that if there be any point that this educated man already knows, he may not have to listen to it as from a teacher; and if, on the other hand, there be anything of which he is still ignorant, he may learn it while we are going over the points with which we assume he is already familiar. Moreover, it will certainly not be unprofitable to ask him what his motives for desiring to be a Christian are; so that if you see that he has been moved to that decision by books, whether the canonical Scriptures

in principio loquaris, collaudans eos pro diversitate meritorum canonicae auctoritatis et exponentium sollertissimae [12]diligentiae, maximeque commendans in scripturis canonicis admirandae [13]altitudinis saluberrimam humilitatem, in illis autem pro sua cuiusque facultate aptum superbioribus, et [14]per hoc infirmioribus animis, stilum sonantioris et quasi [15]tornatioris eloquii.

Sane etiam [15a]exprimendum de illo est ut indicet quem maxime legerit, et quibus libris familiarius inhaeserit, unde illi persuasum est ut sociari vellet ecclesiae. Quod cum dixerit, tum si nobis noti sunt illi libri, aut ecclesiastica fama saltem accepimus a catholico aliquo memorabili viro esse conscriptos, laeti approbemus. Si autem in alicuius haeretici volumina incurrit, et nesciens forte quod vera fides improbat, tenuit animo et [16]catholicum esse arbitratur, sedulo edocendus est, praelata auctoritate universalis ecclesiae aliorumque doctissimorum hominum et disputationibus et scriptionibus in eius veritate florentium. Quamquam et illi qui catholici [17]ex hac vita emigrarunt et aliquid litterarum Christianarum posteris reliquerunt, in quibusdam locis opusculorum suorum, vel non intellecti, vel sicuti est [18]humana infirmitas, [19]minus valentes acie mentis [19a]abditiora penetrare, et veri similitudine aberrantes a veritate, [20]praesumtoribus et audacibus fuerunt occasioni ad aliquam [21]haeresim moliendam atque gignendam. Quod mirum non est, cum de ipsis canonicis litteris, ubi omnia [22]sanissime dicta sunt, non quidem aliter accipiendo quaedam quam vel scriptor sensit, vel [23]seipsa veritas habet, (nam si hoc solum esset, [24]quis non humanae infirmitati ad corrigendum paratae libenter ignosceret?) sed id quod perverse ac prave opinati sunt, [25]animositate acerrima et pervicaci arrogantia defensitantes, [26]multi multa perniciosa dogmata [27]concisa communionis unitate pepererunt.

Haec omnia cum illo qui ad societatem populi Christiani, non

or those of serviceable writers, you may begin by saying something about these, recommending them according to their various merits, whether in respect of canonical authority or of the attention to detail and subtlety of the several interpreters; and in the canonical Scriptures praising above all their marvellous sublimity joined to most wholesome simplicity; but in other works, a style of more sonorous and neatly-turned expression adapted, according to each writer's ability, to prouder, and therefore weaker, minds.

We must likewise, of course, draw him out to indicate clearly what writer he read most, and by intimate familiarity with what books he was won over to the desire of joining the Church. And when he has told us this, then if we are acquainted with these books, or at least if we know it to be the common belief of the Church that they were composed by some Catholic writer of note, let us gladly give them our approval. But if he has happened upon the volumes of some heretic and, unwittingly perhaps, has held and considers to be Catholic what the true Church condemns, we must earnestly instruct him, setting before him the authority of the universal Church and that of other most learned men renowned for their disputations and writings concerning the truth of her teaching. And yet even those who have departed this life as Catholics, and have left to posterity some Christian literature, in certain passages of their works, either because they have not been understood, or else, as is the case with human infirmity, because they were not able by keenness of intellect to pierce the more hidden truths, and led astray from the truth by a semblance of truth, have served as an occasion to presumptuous and rash men to devise and beget some heresy. This is not to be wondered at since, starting out from the canonical writings themselves in which everything has been expressed in the soundest and most rational way, many have given birth to many pernicious dogmas, thereby rending asunder the unity of our communion; and they have done this, not only by taking certain passages in a sense different, either from that which the writer had in mind or from that which is in accord with the truth itself (for if that were all, who would not willingly forgive human weakness when it showed itself ready to amend?), but by persistently championing their perverse and distorted opinions with the bitterest vehemence and obstinate arrogance.

All these points we should treat in a discreet conference with him

[28]idiota, ut aiunt, sed doctorum libris expolitus atque excultus accedit, modesta [29]collatione tractanda sunt; tantum assumta praecipiendi auctoritate (ut caveat [30]praesumtionis errores) quantum eius humilitas quae illum adduxit iam sentitur admittere. Cetera vero secundum regulas [31]doctrinae salutaris, sive de fide, quaecumque narranda vel disserenda sunt, sive de moribus, sive de tentationibus, eo modo percurrendo quo dixi, ad illam [32]supereminentiorem viam omnia referenda sunt.

9 (13) Sunt item [1]quidam de scholis usitatissimis grammaticorum oratorumque venientes, quos neque inter idiotas numerare audeas, neque inter illos doctissimos, quorum mens magnarum rerum est exercitata quaestionibus. His ergo qui loquendi arte ceteris hominibus excellere videntur, cum veniunt ut Christiani fiant, [2]hoc amplius quam illis illitteratis impertire debemus, quod sedulo monendi sunt ut [3]humilitate induti Christiana discant non contemnere [4]quos cognoverint morum vitia quam verborum amplius devitare, et cordi casto linguam exercitatam nec [5]conferre audeant, quam etiam praeferre consueverant. Maxime autem isti docendi sunt scripturas audire divinas, [6]ne sordeat eis solidum eloquium, quia non est inflatum, neque arbitrentur carnalibus integumentis [7]involuta atque operta dicta vel facta hominum, quae in illis libris leguntur, non evolvenda atque aperienda ut intelligantur sed sic accipienda ut litterae sonant; deque ipsa utilitate secreti, unde etiam mysteria vocantur, quid valeant [8]aenigmatum latebrae ad amorem veritatis acuendum, decutiendumque fastidii torporem, ipsa experientia probandum est talibus, cum aliquid eis quod [8a]in promtu positum non ita movebat, enodatione allegoriae alicuius eruitur. His enim maxime utile est nosse, [9]ita esse praeponendas verbis sententias, ut praeponitur animus corpori. Ex quo fit ut ita malle

who comes to join the fellowship of the Christian people, not as an illiterate person, to use a common phrase, but with all the education and culture gained from the works of learned men, assuming on our part only so much of the magisterial tone (that he may guard against the errors of presumption) as his humility, which has brought him to us, is now seen to permit of. But as for all else that is to be narrated and expounded in accordance with the rules of sound doctrine, whether concerning faith, or morals, or temptations, it should be treated in a rapid survey, as I have indicated above, and directed to that more excellent way.

CHAPTER 9.

(13) There are also some who come from the ordinary schools of grammar and rhetoric, whom you would neither dare to class among the illiterate, nor yet among those very learned men whose minds have been trained by the investigation of serious questions. When, therefore, these men, who seem to surpass all other men in the art of speaking, come to be made Christians, we ought to convey to them more fully than to the illiterate an earnest warning to clothe themselves in Christian humility, and learn not to despise those whom they know as shunning more carefully faults of character than faults of diction; and also that they should not even presume to compare with a pure heart the trained tongue which they had been wont even to prefer. But, most of all, they should be taught to listen to the divine Scriptures, so that solid diction may not seem mean to them merely because it is not pretentious, and that they may not imagine that the words and deeds of men, of which we read in those books rolled up and concealed in fleshly coverings, are not to be unfolded and revealed so as to convey a meaning, but are to be taken literally. And as regards the actual value of a hidden meaning, from which these writings derive their name of mysteries, and the power of these concealed oracles to sharpen the desire for truth and to shake off the torpor induced by surfeit, such men must have this shown them by actual experience, wherein something which failed to stir them when set plainly before them is brought to light by the unraveling of some allegory. For it is most useful for these men to know that the meaning is to be regarded as superior to words, just as the spirit is to be preferred to the body. And

debeant veriores quam disertiores audire sermones, sicut malle debent [10]prudentiores quam formosiores habere amicos.

Noverint etiam [11]non esse vocem ad aures dei nisi animi affectum; ita enim non irridebunt, si aliquos [12]antistites et ministros ecclesiae forte animadverterint vel [13]cum barbarismis et soloecismis deum invocare, vel eadem verba quae pronuntiant non intelligere perturbateque distinguere. Non quia ista minime corrigenda sunt, (ut populus ad id quod plane intelligit, dicat amen), sed tamen pie toleranda sunt ab eis qui didicerint, ut sono in foro, sic voto in ecclesia benedici. Itaque forensis illa nonnumquam forte [14]bona dictio, numquam tamen benedictio dici potest. De sacramento autem quod accepturi sunt, [15]sufficit prudentioribus audire quid res illa significet; cum tardioribus autem aliquanto [16]pluribus verbis et similitudinibus agendum est, ne contemnant quod vident.

10 (14) Hic tu fortasse exemplum aliquod sermonis desideras, ut ipso tibi opere ostendam quomodo facienda sint ista quae monui. Quod quidem faciam, quantum [1]domino adiuvante potuero; sed prius de illa [1a]hilaritate comparanda, quod pollicitus sum, dicere debeo. Iam enim de ipsis praeceptis explicandi sermonis, in catechizando eo qui sic venit ut Christianus fiat, quantum satis visum est, quod promiseram exsolvi. Indebitum quippe est, ut etiam ipse faciam in hoc volumine, quod fieri oportere praecipio. Si ergo fecero, ad cumulum valebit; cumulus autem quo pacto a me superfundi potest, antequam [2]mensuram debiti explevero?

Neque enim te maxime conqueri audivi, nisi quod tibi sermo tuus vilis abiectusque videretur, cum aliquem [3]Christiano nomine imbueres. Hoc autem scio, non tam rerum quae dicendae sunt, quibus te satis novi [4]paratum et instructum, neque ipsius locutionis inopia, sed animi taedio fieri; vel illa causa quam dixi, quia magis

from this, too, it follows that they ought to prefer to hear true rather than eloquent discourses, just as they ought to prefer to have wise rather than handsome friends.

Let them be assured, too, that there is no voice to reach the ears of God save the emotion of the heart; thus they will not smile contemptuously if they happen to observe that some ministers of the Church either fall into barbarisms and solecisms when calling upon Almighty God, or do not understand and badly punctuate words which they are pronouncing. Not that such faults should not be corrected, so that the people may say "Amen" to what they plainly understand; but still they should be borne in a kindly spirit by those who have learned that just as in the law-courts good speaking is effected by the voice, so in the church it is effected by prayer. Accordingly, though sometimes the language of the law-courts may be called good speaking, it can never be called holy speaking. But with regard to the sacrament which they are about to receive, it is enough for the more intelligent to be told what that rite signifies, but with slower minds we should use somewhat more words and illustrations, that they may not consider lightly what they see.

CHAPTER 10.

(14) At this point, perhaps, you are anxious to have some discourse as a model, so that I may point out to you by a concrete example how to do all these things that I have recommended. And this indeed I will do as far as by the Lord's help I am able. But I must first say something, as I promised, about acquiring that cheerfulness; for as touching the bare rules for developing your discourse in catechizing one who comes expressly to be made a Christian, I have already, in my opinion, sufficiently made good my promise. And surely I am not bound actually to do myself in this volume what I lay down as essential. If, therefore, I do so, it shall count as an extra measure of service on my part; but how can I add an extra measure before I have given the just measure?

Indeed the chief complaint that I have heard you make is that your discourse seemed to you to be a poor and mean thing when you were giving first instructions in the Christian faith. But this, I know, results not so much from lack of things to say, with which I know you are sufficiently equipped and supplied, nor yet from lack of words themselves, but from weariness of mind. And that

nos delectat et tenet, quod in silentio mente cernimus, nec inde volumus avocari ad verborum longe disparem [5]strepitum; vel quia etiam cum sermo iucundus est, magis nos libet audire aut legere quae melius dicta sunt et quae sine nostra cura et sollicitudine promuntur, quam ad alienum sensum repentina verba [6]coaptare [7]incerto exitu, sive utrum occurrant [8]pro sententia, sive utrum accipiantur utiliter; vel quia illa quae rudibus insinuantur, eo quod nobis notissima sunt et [9]provectui nostro iam non necessaria, piget ad ea saepissime redire, nec in eis tam usitatis et tanquam [10]infantilibus cum aliqua voluptate iam [11]grandiusculus animus graditur. [12]Facit etiam loquenti taedium auditor immobilis [vel quia non movetur affectu, vel quia [13]nullo motu corporis indicat se intelligere vel sibi placere quae dicuntur], [14]non quia humanae laudis nos esse avidos decet, sed quia ea quae ministramus dei sunt; et quanto magis diligimus eos quibus loquimur, tanto magis eis cupimus ut placeant quae ad eorum porriguntur salutem; quod si non succedit, contristamur et [15]in ipso cursu [16]debilitamur et frangimur, quasi frustra operam conteramus. Nonnumquam etiam, cum avertimur ab aliqua re quam desideramus agere et cuius actio aut delectabat nos aut magis nobis necessaria videbatur, et cogimur aut iussu eius quem offendere nolumus, aut aliquorum inevitabili instantia catechizare aliquem, iam conturbati accedimus ad negotium, cui magna tranquillitate opus est, dolentes quod neque ordinem actionum nobis conceditur tenere quem volumus, nec sufficere omnibus possumus; atque ita ex ipsa tristitia sermo procedens minus gratus est, quia de ariditate maestitiae minus exuberat. Aliquando item ex aliquo scandalo maeror pectus obsedit, et tunc nobis dicitur:

may spring either from the cause that I have mentioned, namely, that we are more charmed and arrested by that which we perceive in silence in our minds, and do not wish to be called off from it to babble of words which fall far short of reproducing it; or because, even when we like to speak, we like still better to hear or read things which have been better expressed, and which may be given by us without costing any care or anxiety on our part, than to frame hasty sentences offhand to convey truths to the understanding of another, in uncertainty whether our words, as they come to us, are the ones we wanted, or whether, again, they are received by our hearers in a profitable way; or again, just because the subjects that the candidates have to be taught are now so thoroughly familiar to us and no longer necessary for our own progress, it irks us to return to them so often, and our mind, as having outgrown them, no longer moves with any pleasure in such well-trodden and, as it were, childish paths. Moreover, a hearer who remains unmoved makes the speaker weary; whether it be that he is actually not stirred by any emotion, or that he does not show by any gesture that he understands or that he approves what is said. Not that it is a proper disposition in us to be eager for human praise, but because the things which we dispense are God's; and the more we love those to whom we speak, the more we desire them to enjoy what is proffered them for their salvation; so that if we do not succeed in this we are sore grieved and are crippled and broken in the course of the instruction itself as though we were expending our labor fruitlessly. Sometimes, too, when we are interrupted in some work which we are desirous of doing, and which we either liked to do or thought it more necessary to do, and are forced, either by the command of one whom we are unwilling to offend or by the unavoidable importunity of some persons, to catechize someone, we come to a work which requires great calmness with minds already upset, lamenting that we are not permitted to observe the order in our occupations that we desire to, and that we cannot possibly meet all the demands made upon us; and thus, as our discourse proceeds from our very distress, it is not so acceptable because, welling out of the parched soil of dejection, it has less richness.

Sometimes, again, grief takes possession of our hearts on account of some stumbling-block or other, and at that very time some one

"Veni, [17]loquere huic, Christianus vult fieri." [18]Dicitur enim ab ignorantibus quid nos [18a]clausum intus exurat, quibus si affectum nostrum aperire non oportet, suscipimus ingratius quod volunt; et profecto languidus et insuavis ille sermo erit per venam cordis aestuantem fumantemque traiectus. Tot igitur ex causis, [19]quaelibet earum serenitatem nostrae mentis obnubilet, [20]secundum deum sunt quaerenda remedia, quibus relaxetur illa [21]contractio, et fervore spiritus exsultemus et [22]iucundemur in tranquillitate boni operis. *Hilarem enim datorem diligit deus.*

(15) Si enim causa illa contristat quod intellectum nostrum auditor non capit, a cuius cacumine quodam modo descendentes cogimur in syllabarum longe infra distantium tarditate demorari, et curam gerimus quemadmodum longis et perplexis amfractibus procedat ex ore carnis, quod celerrimo haustu mentis imbibitur, et quia multum dissimiliter exit, [23]taedet loqui, et libet tacere, cogitemus quid nobis praerogatum sit ab illo [24]qui demonstravit nobis exemplum, ut sequamur vestigia eius. Quantumvis enim differat [25]articulata vox nostra ab intelligentiae nostrae vivacitate, longe differentior est mortalitas carnis ab aequalitate dei. Et tamen cum in eadem *forma esset, semetipsum exinanivit* [26]*formam servi accipiens,* etc. usque ad, *mortem crucis.* Quam ob causam, nisi quia [27]factus est infirmis infirmus, ut infirmos lucrificaret? Audi eius imitatorem alibi etiam dicentem: [28]*Sive enim mente excessimus, deo; sive temperantes sumus, vobis. Caritas enim Christi compellit nos iudicantes hoc, quia unus pro omnibus mortuus est.* Quomodo enim paratus esset impendi pro animabus eorum, si eum pigeret inclinari ad aures eorum? Hinc ergo [29]factus est parvulus in medio nostrum, tamquam [30]nutrix fovens filios suos. Num enim delectat, nisi amor invitet, [31]decurtata et mutilata verba immurmurare? Et tamen [31a]optant homines habere infantes, quibus id exhibeant, et suavius est matri [32]minuta mansa inspuere parvulo,

says to us, "Come, speak to this man; he wants to become a Christian." For those who say it little know the hidden thought that is consuming us within. And if we may not discover to them our feelings we with rather ill grace undertake what they desire; and of course our instruction will be dull and unattractive, coming forth as it does through a channel of feeling that is seething and fuming. Out of so many possible causes, therefore, we must according to God's will seek remedies for the one, whichever it may be, that is actually beclouding the serenity of our minds; such remedies as may relieve that feeling of dejection, and help us to rejoice in fervor of spirit, and be glad in the peace of mind that the performance of a good work brings. "For God loveth a cheerful giver."

(15) For if the cause of our sadness is that our hearer does not grasp our thought and so, descending after a manner from its lofty heights, we are obliged to spend time uttering one slow syllable after another which is on a far lower plane, and are at pains how that which is imbibed at one rapid draught of the mind may find utterance by long and devious paths through lips of flesh, and so, because it comes forth in a very different form, we are weary of speaking and wish to remain silent; then let us consider what has been vouchsafed to us beforehand by Him "Who showed us an example, that we should follow His steps." For however widely our spoken word differs from the rapidity of our understanding, greater by far is the difference between mortal flesh and equality with God. And yet, though He was in the same form, "He emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as man. He humbled Himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross." For what reason but that He became weak unto the weak, that He might gain the weak? Listen to His follower who in another place likewise says: "For whether we be transported in mind, it is to God; or whether we be sober, it is for you. For the charity of Christ presseth us, judging this, that one died for all." For how, indeed, would He be ready to be spent for their souls if He disdained to stoop to their ears? For this reason, then, He became a little child in the midst of us, like a nurse cherishing her children. For is it a pleasure to murmur into the ear broken and mutilated words unless love invite us? And yet men wish to have babes for whom they may do this, and sweeter is it to a mother to chew mor-

filio quam ipsam mandere ac devorare grandiora. [33]Non ergo recedat de pectore etiam cogitatio gallinae illius, quae languidulis plumis [34]teneros fetus operit et susurrantes pullos [35]confracta voce advocat; cuius blandas alas refugientes superbi praeda fiunt alitibus. Si enim intellectus delectat in penetralibus sincerissimis, hoc etiam intelligere delectet, quomodo caritas, quanto officiosius descendit in [36]infima, tanto robustius recurrit in intima per [37]bonam conscientiam nihil quaerendi ab eis ad quos descendit, praeter eorum sempiternam salutem.

11 (16) Si autem magis appetimus, ea quae iam parata sunt et melius dicta legere vel audire, et ideo piget incerto exitu ad tempus coaptare quae loquimur, [1]tantum a veritate rerum non aberret animus, [2]facile est ut si in verbis auditorem aliquid offenderit, ex ipsa occasione discat quam sit re intellecta contemnendum, si minus integre, aut si minus proprie sonare potuit, quod ideo sonabat ut res intelligeretur. Quodsi humanae infirmitatis intentio etiam ab ipsa rerum veritate aberraverit (quamquam in catechizandis rudibus, ubi [3]via tritissima tenenda est, difficile potest accidere), tamen ne forte accidat ut etiam hinc offendatur auditor, non [4]aliunde nobis debet videri accidisse, nisi quia deus experiri nos voluit, utrum cum mentis placiditate corrigamur, ne in defensionem nostri erroris maiore praecipitemur errore. Quodsi nemo nobis dixerit, nosque et illos qui audierunt omnino latuerit, nullus dolor est, [5]si non fiat iterum. Plerumque autem nos ipsi recolentes quae dixerimus, reprehendimus aliquid, et ignoramus quomodo cum diceretur acceptum sit; magisque dolemus, [6]quando in nobis fervet caritas, si cum falsum esset, libenter acceptum est. [7]Ideoque opportunitate reperta, sicut nos ipsos in silentio reprehendimus, ita curandum est

sels small and put them into her tiny son's mouth, than to chew and consume large morsels herself. Therefore, let not the thought of the hen leave your mind, who with her drooping feathers covers her tender brood, and with tired cry calls her peeping chicks to her side; while those that turn away from her coaxing wings, in their pride, become the prey of large birds. For if the intellect delights us in its unsullied penetralia, let us also take delight in understanding how love, the more graciously it descends to the lowliest station, the more irresistibly finds its way to the inmost recesses of the heart, through the testimony of a good conscience that it seeks nothing of those to whom it descends, except their eternal salvation.

CHAPTER 11.

(16) If, however, we seek rather to read or hear such things as are already prepared for our use and better expressed, and for that reason find it irksome to suit our words to the occasion, in uncertainty as to the outcome; then, provided only that our mind does not wander from the substantial truth, it is easy for the hearer, if anything in our words offends him, to learn from the occasion itself how little it matters, provided the subject has been understood, whether the phraseology which was used expressly to make the subject clear, may not have been quite complete or appropriate. But if, though setting out with the best of purposes, we stray through human frailty from the paths of truth—although in catechizing beginners, where we have to keep to the most beaten track, such a thing cannot readily happen—, still, lest perhaps this also should prove a stumbling-block to our hearer, it should appear to us to have occurred for no other reason than that God would test us, to see whether we can endure correction with calmness of mind, that we may not hasten to the defense of our error with a still greater error. But if no one tells us of our error, and if it entirely escapes the notice both of ourselves and our hearers, there is no cause for worry, so long as it does not happen again. But very often we ourselves, in calling to mind what we have said, discover some error and do not know how it was received when we said it; and so when love glows within us we grieve more if something, though false, was gladly entertained. For this reason, therefore, whenever an opportunity is

ut etiam illi sensim corrigantur, qui non dei verbis, sed plane nostris in aliquam lapsi sunt falsitatem. Si vero aliqui livore vesano caeci errasse nos gaudent, [8]susurrones, detractores, deo odibiles; [9]praebeant nobis materiam exercendae patientiae cum misericordia, quia et [10]patientia dei ad paenitentiam eos adducit. Quid enim est detestabilius, et quod magis [11]thesaurizet iram in die irae et revelationis iusti iudicii dei, [12]quam de malo alterius mala diaboli similitudine atque imitatione laetari?

Nonnumquam etiam, cum recte omnia vereque dicantur, aut non intellectum aliquid, aut [13]contra opinionem et consuetudinem veteris erroris ipsa novitate asperum, offendit et perturbat audientem. Quod si apparuerit sanabilemque se praebet, auctoritatum rationumque copia sine ulla dilatione sanandus est. Si autem tacita et occulta [14]offensio est, dei medicina opitulari potest. At si resiluerit et curari recusaverit, consoletur nos dominicum illud exemplum, qui offensis hominibus ex verbo suo et tamquam [14a]durum refugientibus, etiam iis qui remanserant ait: *Numquid et vos vultis ire?* [15]Satis enim fixum atque immobile debet corde retineri, Ierusalem captivam ab huius saeculi Babylonia decursis temporibus liberari, nullumque ex illa esse periturum; quia qui perierit, non ex illa erat. [16]*Firmum enim fundamentum dei stat, habens signaculum hoc: novit dominus qui sunt eius, et recedat ab iniquitate, omnis qui nominat nomen domini.*

Ista cogitantes et invocantes dominum in cor nostrum, minus timebimus incertos exitus sermonis nostri propter incertos motus auditorum, delectabitque nos etiam ipsa perpessio molestiarum pro misericordi opere, si non in eo [17]nostram gloriam requiramus. Tunc enim est vere [18]opus bonum, cum a caritate iaculatur agentis intentio, et tamquam ad locum suum rediens, rursus in caritate requiescit. Lectio vero quae nos delectat, aut aliqua auditio melioris eloquii, ut eam promendo sermoni nostro praeponere volentes, cum pigritia vel taedio loquamur, alacriores nos suscipiet,

found, as we have reproved ourselves silently so we must in like manner take care gently and gradually to correct those who have fallen into some error, not through words that were God's but plainly our own. But if there are any who, blinded by insane jealousy, rejoice that we have erred—whisperers, slanderers, men hateful to God—, let them furnish us an occasion for the practice of forbearance and compassion, inasmuch as the forbearance of God also leads them to penance. For what is more detestable and more likely to "lay up wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the just judgment of God," than by an evil likeness and imitation of the devil to rejoice in another's woe?

Sometimes, too, although all is rightly and truly expressed, something misunderstood, or something which from its very novelty is harsh because it is contrary to the belief and practice of a long standing error, offends and disturbs the listener. Now if this has become evident, and if he appears to be curable, he should be cured without any delay, by an abundance of authorities and reasons. If, however, the scandal is unseen and secret, God's medicine is able to relieve it. But if he draws back and objects to being cured, let us then take comfort in that well-known example of our Lord, Who, when men were offended at His word and shrank from it as a hard saying, said even to those who had remained: "Will you also go away?" For it ought to be held firmly fixed and immovable in our mind that, when the ages have run their course, Jerusalem which is in captivity shall be set free from the Babylon of this world, and that none out of her shall perish; for he that shall perish was not of her. For "the sure foundation of God standeth firm, having this seal; the Lord knoweth Who are His; and let every one depart from iniquity who nameth the name of the Lord."

If we bear these things in mind, and call upon the Lord to come into our heart, we shall be less fearful of an uncertain issue of our discourse because of the uncertain gestures of our hearers; and even the very endurance of vexations for the sake of a work of mercy will give us happiness, if therein we are not seeking our own glory. For then only is a work truly good, when the purpose of the doer is winged with love, and as if returning to its own place, rests again in love. Moreover, the reading which delights us or the hearing of some better language—although in our desire to set a greater value upon it than upon the discourse which we ourselves

iucundiorque praestabitur post laborem; et maiore fiducia deprecabimur ut loquatur nobis deus quomodo volumus, si suscipiamus hilariter [19]ut loquatur per nos quomodo possumus; ita fit ut [20]diligentibus deum omnia concurrant in bonum.

12 (17) Iam vero si [1]usitata et parvulis congruentia saepe repetere fastidimus, congruamus eis per fraternum, paternum, maternumque amorem, et copulatis cordi eorum etiam nobis nova videbuntur. Tantum enim valet animi compatientis affectus, ut cum illi afficiuntur nobis loquentibus, et nos illis discentibus, habitemus [2]in invicem; atque ita et illi quae audiunt quasi loquantur in nobis, et nos in illis [3]discamus quodam modo quae docemus. Nonne accidere hoc solet, cum loca quaedam ampla et pulchra, vel urbium vel agrorum, quae iam nos saepe videndo [4]sine aliqua voluptate praeteribamus, ostendimus eis qui antea numquam viderant, ut nostra delectatio in eorum novitatis delectatione renovetur? Et [5]tanto magis, quanto sunt amiciores; quia per amoris vinculum [5a]in quantum in illis sumus, in tantum et nobis nova fiunt quae vetera fuerunt. Sed [6]si in rebus contemplandis aliquantum profecimus, non volumus eos quos diligimus laetari et stupere, cum intuentur opera manuum hominum; sed [7]volumus eos in ipsam artem consiliumve institutoris adtollere, atque inde exsurgere in [8]admirationem laudemque [9]omnicreantis dei, [10]ubi amoris fructuosissimus [11]finis est. Quanto ergo magis delectari nos oportet, cum ipsum deum iam [12]discere homines accedunt, propter quem discenda sunt quaecumque discenda sunt; et in eorum novitate innovari, ut si frigidior est solita nostra [13]praedicatio, insolita eorum auditione fervescat. Huc accedit ad comparandam laetitiam, quod cogitamus et consideramus, [14]de qua erroris morte in vitam fidei transeat homo. Et si vicos usitatissimos [15]cum benefica

have to deliver we make our utterance labored or tiresome—will render us all the keener and afford us more enjoyment after our own efforts. Then, too, we shall pray with greater confidence that God may speak to us as we desire, if we cheerfully permit Him to speak through us as best we can. Thus it comes to pass that "to them that love God, all things work together unto good."

CHAPTER 12.

(17) Again, if it be distasteful to us to be repeating over and over things that are familiar and suitable for little children, let us suit ourselves to them with a brother's, a father's, and a mother's love, and when once we are linked to them thus in heart these things will seem new even to us. For so great is the power of sympathy, that when people are affected by us as we speak and we by them as they learn, we dwell each in the other and thus both they, as it were, speak in us what they hear, while we, after a fashion, learn in them what we teach. Is it not a common occurrence, that when we are showing to those who have never seen them before certain lovely expansive spaces, whether of town or countryside, which we through often seeing already have been in the habit of passing by without any pleasure, our own delight is renewed by their delight at the novelty of the scene? And the more so, the closer the friendship between them and us; for in proportion as we dwell in them through the bond of love, so do things which were old become new to us also. But if we have made some progress in the contemplative life, we do not wish those whom we love to be delighted and amazed when they survey the work of men's hands; but we wish to lift them up to the contemplation of the skill or design of the contriver, and thence have them soar upward to the admiration and praise of the all-creating God, in Whom is the most fruitful end of love. How much more, then, ought we to rejoice when men now approach to study God Himself, on Whose account all things that should be learned are to be learned; and how much more ought we to be renewed in their newness, so that if our preaching as being a matter of routine is somewhat dull, it may grow interesting because of our hearers for whom it is all new. Then, to aid us in the attainment of joy, there is moreover the thought and reflection from what a death of error our brother is passing over into the life of faith.

hilaritate transimus, quando alicui forte qui errando laboraverat, [16]demonstramus viam, quanto alacrius et cum gaudio maiore in [17]doctrina salutari, etiam illa quae propter nos retexere non opus est, perambulare debemus, cum animam miserandam et erroribus saeculi fatigatam per [18]itinera pacis, ipso qui nobis eam praestitit iubente, deducimus?

13 (18) Sed re vera [1]multum est perdurare in loquendo usque ad terminum praestitutum, cum moveri non videmus audientem; quod sive non audeat, [2]religionis timore constrictus, voce aut [3]aliquo motu corporis significare approbationem suam, sive humana verecundia reprimatur; sive dicta non intelligat, sive contemnat; quando quidem nobis non cernentibus animum eius incertum est, omnia sermone tentanda sunt, quae ad eum excitandum et tamquam de latebris eruendum possint valere. Nam et timor nimius atque impediens declarationem iudicii eius, blanda exhortatione pellendus est, et insinuando [3a]fraternam societatem verecundia temperanda, et interrogatione quaerendum utrum intelligat, et danda fiducia, ut si quid ei contradicendum videtur, libere proferat. Quaerendum etiam de illo utrum haec aliquando iam audierit, et [4]fortassis eum tamquam nota et pervulgata non moveant; et agendum pro eius responsione, ut aut planius et enodatius loquamur, aut opinionem contrariam refellamus, aut ea quae illi nota sunt non explicemus latius, sed breviter complicemus, eligamusque aliqua ex his quae [5]mystice dicta sunt in sanctis libris, et maxime in ipsa narratione, quae aperiendo et revelando noster sermo dulcescat. Quodsi nimis tardus est et ab omni tali suavitate absurdus et aversus, [6]misericorditer sufferendus est, breviterque decursis ceteris,

And if we pass through streets that are most familiar to us with all the cheerfulness that springs from well-doing, when we happen to be pointing out the way to one who had been in trouble through losing his way, with how much more alacrity and with how much greater joy, in the matter of salutary doctrine, ought we to go over those things which, as far as we are concerned, need not be repeated, when we are escorting through the paths of peace a soul to be pitied, and one wearied with the wanderings of this world, at the bidding of Him Who has given that peace to us.

CHAPTER 13.

(18) But in very truth it is a hard thing to continue speaking up to the point determined upon beforehand, when we do not see our hearer moved; since we who do not see into his mind cannot tell whether he is held by religious awe and dare not express his approval either by word or by some gesture, or whether he is held back by natural shyness, or whether he does not understand what is said, or considers it of no value; and so we must in our discourse make trial of everything that may succeed in rousing him, and as it were dislodging him from his hiding-place. For we must drive out by gentle encouragement his excessive timidity, which hinders him from expressing his opinion; we must temper his shyness by introducing the idea of brotherly fellowship; we must by questioning him find out whether he understands; and must give him confidence so that if he thinks there is an objection to make he may freely lay it before us. We must at the same time enquire of him whether he has ever heard these things before, and so perhaps they, as being things well-known and commonplace, fail to move him; and we must act in accordance with his answer, so as either to speak more clearly and simply, or to refute a contrary opinion, or not to set forth at greater length things that are familiar to him, but instead to give a brief summary of them, and to pick out some of those points that have been said mystically in the Sacred Scriptures, and particularly in the narration itself, the explanation and interpretation of which may make our discourse more agreeable. But if he is exceedingly slow-witted, and out of accord with and averse to every such charm, we should bear with him in a compassionate spirit, and after briefly running through

ea quae maxime necessaria sunt, de unitate [7]catholicae, de tentationibus, de christiana conversatione propter futurum iudicium [8]terribiliter inculcanda sunt, [9]magisque pro illo ad deum, quam illi de deo multa dicenda.

(19) Saepe etiam fit ut qui primo libenter audiebat, vel audiendo vel stando fatigatus, non iam laudans, sed oscitans labia diducat, et se abire velle etiam invitus ostendat. Quod ubi senserimus, aut renovare oportet eius animum, dicendo aliquid honesta [10]hilaritate conditum et aptum rei quae agitur, vel aliquid valde [11]mirandum et stupendum, vel etiam dolendum atque plangendum; et magis de ipso, ut propria cura punctus evigilet, quod tamen non [12]offendat eius verecundiam asperitate aliqua, sed potius familiaritate conciliet; aut [13]oblata sessione succurrere; [14]quamquam sine dubitatione melius fiat, ubi decenter fieri potest, ut a principio sedens audiat, longeque consultius in quibusdam ecclesiis [15]transmarinis non solum [15a]antistites sedentes [16]loquuntur ad populum, sed ipsi etiam populo sedilia subiacent, ne quisquam infirmior stando lassatus a saluberrima intentione avertatur, aut etiam cogatur abscedere. Et tamen [17]multum interest, si se quisquam de magna multitudine subtrahat ad reparandas vires, qui iam sacramentorum societate devinctus est; et si ille discedat (quod plerumque [18]inevitabiliter urgetur, ne interiore defectu victus etiam cadat) qui primis sacramentis imbuendus est; et pudore enim non dicit cur eat, et imbecillitate stare non sinitur. [19]Expertus haec dico; nam fecit hoc quidam, cum eum catechizarem, homo rusticanus, unde magnopere praecavendum esse didici. Quis enim ferat arrogantiam nostram, cum [20]viros fratres nostros, vel etiam quod maiore sollicitudine curandum est, ut sint fratres nostri, coram nobis sedere non facimus; et ipsum dominum nostrum, [21]cui assistunt angeli, [22]sedens mulier audiebat? Sane si aut brevis sermo futurus est,

the other points, impress upon him in a way to inspire fear the truths that are most necessary concerning the unity of the Catholic Church, temptations, and the Christian manner of living in view of the future judgment; and we should rather say much on his behalf to God, than say much to him about God.

(19) It often happens, too, that one who at first was listening gladly becomes exhausted either from listening or standing, and now opens his mouth no longer to praise but to yawn, and even involuntarily gives signs that he wants to depart. When we observe this, we should either refresh his mind by saying something seasoned with a becoming liveliness and suited to the matter under discussion, or something calculated to arouse great wonder and amazement, or even grief and lamentation. And, preferably, let it be something concerning himself, so that pricked by the sting of personal concern he may arouse himself, yet something that may not wound his shyness by a suggestion of severity, but may win him rather by its friendliness. Or else we should come to his aid with the offer of a seat; although doubtless it is better that he should listen seated from the first, where it can be done with propriety. And indeed in certain of the churches overseas, with far more considerateness, not only do the bishops sit when they address the people, but seats are supplied for the people also, lest anyone who is somewhat weak physically should become exhausted through standing, and so either should have his mind turned away from its most salutary design, or even be obliged to leave. It makes a great difference however whether someone, who has already been united (to the Church) by participation in the sacraments, withdraws from a large gathering, to recruit his strength; or one who has yet to be initiated in the rites of the catechumenate retires—a thing he is very often forced to do of necessity—lest he should be overcome by an internal weakness and even fall; for out of shame he does not say why he is going, and at the same time out of weakness he cannot keep standing. I say this from experience, for a man from the country did this once when I was catechizing him, and from this I learned that every care must be taken beforehand to prevent it. For who shall put up with our pride when we do not make men, though they are our brothers, or even that they may become our brothers (for we should be the more anxious in this case), be seated in our presence, seeing that a woman listened while seated to

aut consessui locus non est aptus, stantes audiant; sed cum multi audiunt, et non tunc [23]initiandi. Nam cum unus aut duo aut pauci, qui propterea venerunt ut Christiani fiant, periculose loquimur stantibus. Tamen si iam sic coepimus, [24]saltem animadverso auditoris taedio, et offerenda sessio est, immo vero prorsus urgendus ut sedeat, et dicendum aliquid quo renovetur, quo etiam cura, si qua forte irruens eum avocare coeperat, fugiat ex animo. Cum enim causae incertae sint cur iam tacitus recuset audire, iam sedenti aliquid adversus incidentes cogitationes [25]saecularium negotiorum dicatur, aut hilari, ut dixi, aut tristi modo; ut si ipsae sunt quae mentem occupaverant, cedant quasi nominatim accusatae; si autem ipsae non sunt, et audiendo fatigatus est, cum de illis tamquam ipsae sint (quando quidem ignoramus), inopinatum aliquid et extraordinarium, eo modo quo dixi, loquimur, a taedio renovatur intentio. Sed et breve sit, maxime quia extra ordinem inseritur, [26]ne morbum fastidii cui subvenire volumus, etiam augeat ipsa medicina; et acceleranda sunt cetera, et promittendus atque exhibendus finis propinquior.

14 (20) Si autem confregit animum tuum alterius actionis, cui tamquam magis necessariae iam [1]suspensus eras, [2]omissio, et propterea tristis [3]insuaviter catechizas; cogitare debes (excepto quod scimus misericorditer nobis agendum esse quidquid cum hominibus agimus, et ex officio sincerissimae caritatis; hoc [4]ergo excepto) incertum esse quid utilius agamus, et quid opportunius aut [5]intermittamus, aut omnino omittamus. Quia enim merita hominum

our Lord Himself, before Whom angels stand and wait? Of course, if the address is to be short, or if the place is not suitable for a number to sit together, let them listen standing; but this only when the hearers are many in number and are not at that time to be admitted to the catechumenate. For when there are one or two or a few who have come with the express purpose of being made Christians, we run a risk in keeping them standing while we address them. Still, if we have already begun in this manner, at least when we notice our hearer becoming weary, we should both offer him a seat, nay more, press him by all means to be seated, and say something to refresh him, and to banish uneasiness from his mind, if haply any breaking in upon him had begun to distract him. For since the reasons why he still remains silent and refuses to listen are uncertain, let something be said to him, now that he is seated, against stray thoughts about worldly affairs, either, as I have said, in a light or in a grave vein. So that, if it is these thoughts that had possessed his mind, they may withdraw as though accused by name; but if it is not these, and he is merely weary with listening, his flagging interest may be revived when we say something unexpected and out of the common about these thoughts in the way I have mentioned as though they were actually the cause, since, as a matter of fact, we do not know. But let our admonition be brief also, especially as it is introduced by way of digression, for fear that the remedy itself should even increase the malady of boredom which we desire to relieve; and we should both deliver more rapidly the remainder of our discourse and promise him a speedy conclusion — and then redeem our promise.

CHAPTER 14.

(20) But if you have been cast down at having to set aside some other occupation, on which you were already bent as being more important, and on that account are sad and catechize unattractively, you ought to reflect that, apart from knowing that in all our dealings with men we ought to act mercifully and in accordance with the duty of love unalloyed, apart from this, I say, it is uncertain what is more useful for us to do, and what is more seasonable, either to interrupt for a while or to abandon altogether. For since we do not know what the merits of the men for whom

pro quibus agimus, qualia sint apud deum [6]non novimus, quid eis ad tempus expediat [7]aut nulla aut tenuissima et incertissima coniectura suspicamur potius, quam comprehendimus. Quapropter res quidem agendas [8]pro nostro captu ordinare debemus; quas eo modo quo statuimus si peragere potuerimus, non ideo gaudeamus quia nobis, sed quia deo sic eas agi placuit; si autem aliqua inciderit necessitas, qua noster ille ordo turbetur; [9]flectamur facile, ne frangamur; ut quem deus nostro praeposuit, ipse sit noster. Aequius est enim ut nos eius, quam ut ille nostram voluntatem sequatur, [10]quia et ordo agendarum rerum, quem nostro arbitrio tenere volumus, ille utique approbandus est, ubi potiora praecedunt. Cur ergo nos dolemus homines a domino deo tanto potiore praecedi, ut eo ipso quo nostrum amamus ordinem, inordinati esse cupiamus? Nemo enim melius ordinat [11]quid agat, nisi [12]qui paratior est non agere quod divina potestate prohibetur, quam cupidior agere quod humana cogitatione meditatur. Quia [13]*multae cogitationes sunt in corde viri, consilium autem domini manet in aeternum.*

(21) Si vero ex aliquo scandalo [14]perturbatus animus non valet edere serenum iucundumque sermonem, tantam esse caritatem oportet in eos pro quibus Christus mortuus est, volens eos [15]pretio sanguinis sui ab errorum saecularium morte redimere, ut hoc ipsum quod nobis tristibus nuntiatur, praesto esse aliquem qui desideret fieri Christianus, [16]ad consolationem illius resolutionemque tristitiae valere debeat, sicut solent lucrorum gaudia [17]dolorem lenire damnorum. [18]Non enim scandalum nos contristat alicuius, nisi quem perire aut per quem perire infirmum vel credimus vel videmus. Ille igitur qui [19]initiandus advenit, dum speratur posse proficere, [20]dolorem deficientis abstergat. Quia et si timor ille suggeritur, ne fiat [21]proselytus filius gehennae, dum multi tales [22]versantur ante oculos, ex quibus oriuntur [23]ea quibus urimur scandala, non ad retardandos nos pertinere debet, sed magis [24]ad excitandos et acuendos; quatenus quem imbuimus moneamus, ut

we are exerting ourselves are in the sight of God, we can surmise only by the slenderest and most uncertain guess, if by any, rather than know surely what is good for them at the time. Therefore, we ought indeed to plan those things which we have to do as best we know how: and if then we are able to carry them out in the way we intended, let us rejoice, not because it was our will, but because it was God's will that they should be so done. But if anything unavoidable happens to disturb our order, let us bend readily to it, lest we be broken; so that we may make our own that order which God has preferred to ours. For it is more proper that we should follow His will, than He ours; since even as regards the order which we desire to observe in performing our work, that order is of course to be approved in which the more important matters have precedence. Why then do we chafe that God, Who is so much more excellent, should take precedence of us, who are but men, so that we desire to be rebels against His order through our very love for our own order? For no one plans what he is to do for the better unless he is readier to leave undone what is forbidden by divine power, than eager to do what is devised by human thought. For "there are many thoughts in the heart of a man, but the will of the Lord shall stand forever."

(21) But if our mind is troubled by some stumbling-block and so is unable to produce a calm and agreeable discourse, so great should be our love towards those for whom Christ died, desiring to redeem them by the price of His own blood from the death of the errors of this world, that the very fact that word is brought to us in our dejection that some one is at hand who desires to become a Christian should have the effect of alleviating and dispelling our grief, even as the joy over gains is wont to alleviate grief over losses. For we are not utterly cast down by the stumbling-block in any one's way, unless it be someone whom we see and believe to be perishing himself or causing a weak brother to perish. Let him, therefore, who comes to be admitted as a candidate wipe away our sorrow at another's defection, in the hope we cherish that he will make progress in the faith. For even if the fear suggests itself to us that the proselyte may become a child of hell—as we see many such, from whom those very scandals that distress us arise—, this should not tend to make us slacken our efforts, but rather arouse and quicken us to the point of warning him whom we are instructing to be on his

caveat imitationem eorum qui [25]non ipsa veritate, sed solo nomine Christiani sunt; nec eorum turba commotus, aut sectari velit eos, aut Christum nolit sectari propter eos; et aut nolit esse in ecclesia dei ubi illi sunt, aut talis ibi velit esse quales illi sunt. Et nescio quomodo in huiusmodi monitis ardentior sermo est, cui [26]fomitem subministrat praesens dolor; ut non solum pigriores non simus, sed eo ipso dicamus [27]accensius atque vehementius, quod securiores [28]frigidius et lentius diceremus; gaudeamusque nobis [28a]occasionem dari, ubi [28b]motus animi nostri sine fructificatione non transeat.

(22) Si autem de aliquo errato nostro vel peccato nos [29]maestitudo comprehendit, non tantum meminerimus [30]sacrificium deo spiritum esse contribulatum, sed etiam illud: [31]Quia sicut *aqua ignem, sic eleemosyna exstinguit peccatum.* Et quia [32]*misericordiam,* inquit, *volo quam sacrificium.* Sicut ergo si periclitaremur incendio, ad aquam utique curreremus, quo posset exstingui, et gratularemur si quis eam [33]de proximo offerret; ita si de nostro [34]foeno aliqua peccati flamma surrexit, et propterea conturbamur, data occasione [35]misericordissimi operis, tamquam de oblato fonte gaudeamus, ut inde illud quod exarserat opprimatur. Nisi forte tam stulti sumus, ut alacrius arbitremur cum pane currendum, quo ventrem esurientis impleamus, quam cum verbo dei, quo mentem istud edentis instruamus. Huc accedit, quia si tantummodo prodesset hoc facere, non facere autem nihil obesset; infeliciter in periculo salutis, non iam proximi, sed nostrae, oblatum remedium sperneremus. Cum vero ex ore domini tam minaciter sonet: [36]*Serve nequam et piger, dares pecuniam meam nummulariis,* [37]quae tandem dementia est, quoniam peccatum nostrum nos angit, ideo rursus velle peccare, non dando pecuniam dominicam volenti et petenti?

His atque huiusmodi cogitationibus et considerationibus depulsa caligine taediorum, ad catechizandum aptatur intentio, ut suaviter imbibatur, quod impigre atque hilariter de caritatis ubertate pro-

guard against imitating those who are not Christians in very truth but only in name, and not to be stirred by their numbers either to desire to follow them, or on their account to be unwilling to follow Christ; and neither to be loth to be in the Church of God of which they are members nor wish to be such as they are. And, somehow or other, in such warnings that discourse has more fervor to which actual grief supplies the fuel; so that, far from being dull, we say with more warmth and force what, were we free from anxiety, we should say somewhat flatly and sluggishly; and we rejoice that an opportunity is given us in which the emotions of our hearts may not pass away without bearing fruit.

(22) But if for some error or sin of our own sadness seizes us, let us not only bear in mind that "an afflicted spirit is a sacrifice to God" but also the words: "for as water quencheth a flaming fire so almsgiving quencheth sin"; and "for I desire," he says, "mercy rather than sacrifice." As, therefore, if we were in danger from fire, we should, of course, run to water with which to extinguish it, and should be thankful if some one showed us water nearby, so if some flame of sin has arisen from the hay of our passions and we are troubled about it, we should be glad when an opportunity for a work of great mercy is given us, as though a well-spring were pointed out to us from which to put out the blaze that had burst forth. Unless perhaps we are so foolish as to think we should run more readily with bread to fill the belly of a hungry man than with the word of God to instruct the mind of him who feeds on it. Moreover, were it only profitable to do this, but not harmful to leave it undone, it would be an unfortunate measure to spurn the proffered remedy, when the salvation not now of our neighbor, but of ourselves, was involved. But since from the mouth of the Lord ring forth those words with so threatening a sound: "Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou oughtest to have committed my money to the bankers," what madness is it, then, because our sin pains us, to want to sin again by not giving the Lord's money to one who desires it and craves it? When by these and similar thoughts and reflections the darkness of disgust has been dispelled, our mind is prepared for catechizing, so that what bursts forth readily and cheerfully from the rich abundance of love is drunk in with enjoyment. For it is not so much I who say

rumpit. Haec enim non tam ego tibi, quam omnibus nobis dicit ipsa [38]dilectio, quae diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis.

15 (23) Sed nunc etiam illud quod [1]priusquam promitterem non [1a]debebam, iam fortasse debitum flagitas, ut aliquod sermonis [2]exemplum, tamquam si ego aliquem catechizem, non me pigeat explicare et intuendum tibi proponere. Quod priusquam faciam, volo cogites aliam esse intentionem [3]dictantis, cum lector futurus cogitatur; et aliam loquentis, cum praesens auditor adtenditur; et in eo ipso aliam in secreto monentis, [4]dum nullus alius qui de nobis iudicet praesto est; aliam palam docentis aliquid, cum dissimiliter opinantium circumstat auditus; et in hoc genere aliam, cum docetur unus, ceteri autem tamquam iudicantes aut adtestantes quae sibi nota sunt audiunt; aliam cum omnes communiter quid ad eos proferamus exspectant; et rursus in hoc ipso aliam, cum quasi privatim consedetur, [5]ut sermocinatio conseratur; aliam, cum populus tacens unum de loco superiore dicturum suspensus intuetur; [6]multumque interest, et cum ita dicimus, utrum pauci adsint an multi; docti an indocti an ex utroque genere [6a]mixti; urbani an [6b]rustici, an hi et illi simul; an populus ex omni hominum genere temperatus sit. Fieri enim non potest, nisi aliter atque aliter afficiant [7]locuturum atque dicturum, et [7a]ut sermo qui profertur, affectionis animi a quo profertur, quemdam quasi vultum gerat, et pro eadem diversitate diverse afficiat auditores, cum et ipsi se ipsos diverse afficiant invicem praesentia sua. Sed quia de rudibus imbuendis nunc agimus, de me ipso tibi testis sum, aliter atque aliter me moveri, cum [8]ante me catechizandum video [9]eruditum, inertem,

these things to you as it is love itself that says them to us all, that love which is poured forth in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, Who is given to us.

CHAPTER 15.

(23) But now you also demand of me what I did not owe before I promised it, but is now perhaps due you, namely, that I should not count it irksome to unfold and set before you for your study some pattern of a discourse, just as though I myself were catechizing some one. But before I do this, I would have you bear in mind that the aim of one dictating a catechetical instruction with a future reader in view is different from that of one catechizing with the listener actually present. And there is a difference, even in this latter case, between the aim of one admonishing in private, with no one else at hand to pass judgment, and of one teaching in public with an audience standing round that holds different opinions; and under this head again the aim differs when one only is being taught while others listen as if judging of and endorsing a subject familiar to them, and when all alike are waiting for what we are about to set before them; and yet again, in this division the aim differs when one and one's audience are seated together, as it were, in private, to begin a general conversation, and when a silent throng gazes with rapt attention upon one who is about to speak to them publicly. It likewise makes a great difference, even when we are speaking under these circumstances, whether there are few present or many; whether learned or unlearned, or a mixed audience made up of both classes; whether they are townsfolk or countryfolk, or both together; or a gathering in which all sorts and conditions of men are represented. For it cannot fail to be the case that different persons should affect in different ways the one who intends to instruct orally and likewise the one who intends to give a formal discourse, and that the discourse which is delivered should bear a certain facial expression, as it were, disclosing the frame of mind of the speaker, and should affect the audience in various ways, just as the frame of mind varies, since they themselves mutually affect one another in various ways by their mere presence. But as we are now treating of instructing candidates, I can testify to you from my own experience that I am differently stirred according as he whom I see before me waiting for instruction is cultivated or a dullard, a

civem, peregrinum, divitem, pauperem, privatum, honoratum, in potestate aliqua [10]constitutum, [11]illius aut illius gentis hominem, illius aut illius aetatis aut sexus, ex illa aut illa secta, ex illo aut illo vulgari errore venientem: ac pro diversitate motus mei sermo ipse [12]et procedit et progreditur et finitur. Et quia cum eadem omnibus debeatur caritas, non eadem est omnibus adhibenda medicina; ipsa item [13]caritas alios parturit, [13a]cum aliis infirmatur; [14]alios curat aedificare, alios contremiscit offendere; ad alios se inclinat, ad alios se erigit; aliis blanda, aliis severa, nulli inimica, omnibus mater. Et qui non expertus est eadem caritate quod dico, cum videt nos, quia facultas aliqua nobis donata delectat laudabiliter innotescere in ore multitudinis, inde nos beatos putat; deus autem, [15]in cuius conspectum intrat gemitus compeditorum, [16]videat humilitatem nostram et laborem nostrum, et dimittat omnia peccata nostra. Quamobrem si quid tibi in nobis placuit, ut aliquam [17]observationem sermonis tui a nobis audire quaereres, melius videndo et audiendo nos cum haec agimus, quam legendo [18]cum haec dictamus, [19]edisceres.

16 (24) Sed tamen faciamus aliquem venisse ad nos, qui vult esse Christianus, et de genere quidem idiotarum, non tamen rusticanorum, sed urbanorum, quales apud [1]Carthaginem plures experiri te necesse est; [1a]interrogatum etiam utrum propter vitae praesentis aliquod commodum an propter requiem quae post hanc vitam speratur Christianus esse desiderat, propter futuram requiem respondisse; tali fortasse a nobis instrueretur alloquio.

[2]Deo gratias, frater; valde [3]tibi gratulor et gaudeo de te, quod in tantis ac tam periculosis huius saeculi tempestatibus de aliqua [4]vera et certa securitate cogitasti. Nam et in hac vita homines

fellow-citizen or a stranger, a rich man or a poor man, a private citizen or a public man, a man having some official authority, a person of this or that family, of this or that age or sex, coming to us from this or that school of philosophy, or from this or that popular error, and in keeping with my own varying feelings my discourse itself opens, proceeds, and closes. And since the same medicine is not to be applied to all, although to all the same love is due, so also love itself is in travail with some, becomes weak with others; is at pains to edify some, dreads to be a cause of offense to others; stoops to some, before others stands with head erect; is gentle to some, and stern to others; and enemy to none, a mother to all. And when someone, who has not in the same spirit of love experienced what I describe, sees that we are on the lips of the multitude in praise because some talent given us charms, he accounts us for that reason happy. But may God, " before Whose sight comes the sighing of the prisoners, behold our abjection and our labor, and forgive us all our sins." Wherefore, if anything in us has so pleased you that you want to hear from us some plan to be observed by you in preaching, you would learn this better by watching us and listening to us when actually engaged in the work itself than by reading what we dictate.

CHAPTER 16.

(24) But still, let us suppose that someone has come to us who desires to be a Christian, and, while indeed one of the uneducated class, yet not a man from the country but a townsman such as you must come across in great numbers at Carthage; and that, on being asked whether he desires to be a Christian for the sake of some advantage in the present life or on account of the rest which is hoped for after this life, he has replied that it is on account of the rest hereafter; we should perhaps instruct him by some such address as this.

Let us give thanks to God, brother; I joy exceedingly and rejoice with you that amid the great and perilous storms of this world, you have bethought yourself of some true and assured safety. For even in this life men seek rest and repose from great labors, but because of their perverse desires they do not find it. For they wish to be at rest amid things that are neither stable nor lasting;

[5]magnis laboribus requiem quaerunt et securitatem, sed pravis cupiditatibus non inveniunt. Volunt enim [6]requiescere in rebus inquietis et non permanentibus; et quia illae tempore subtrahuntur et transeunt, [7]timoribus et doloribus eos agitant, nec quietos esse permittunt. Sive enim in divitiis velit homo requiescere, [8]magis superbus efficitur quam securus. An non videmus quam multi eas subito [9]perdiderint, multi etiam propter illas perierint, aut cum eas habere cupiunt, aut cum eis oppressis a cupidioribus auferuntur? Quae si etiam per totam vitam cum homine permanerent et non desererent dilectorem suum, [10]ipse illas sua morte desereret. [11]Quanta est enim vita hominis, etiamsi senescat? Aut cum sibi homines optant [12]senectutem, quid aliud optant nisi longam infirmitatem? Sic et honores huius saeculi, quid sunt nisi [13]typhus et inanitas et ruinae periculum? Quia sic scriptura sancta dicit: [14]*Omnis caro foenum, et claritas hominis ut flos foeni. Foenum aruit, flos decidit; verbum autem domini manet in aeternum.* Ideo qui veram requiem et veram felicitatem desiderat, debet tollere spem suam de rebus mortalibus et [15]praetereuntibus, et [16]eam collocare in verbo domini, ut [16a]haerens ei quod manet in aeternum, etiam ipse cum illo maneat in aeternum.

(25) Sunt etiam homines, qui nec divites quaerunt esse nec ad vanas honorum [16b]pompas ambiunt pervenire, sed gaudere et [17]requiescere volunt in popinis et in [18]fornicationibus et in theatris atque [19]spectaculis nugacitatis, quae in magnis [20]civitatibus [21]gratis habent. Sed sic etiam ipsi [22]aut consumunt per luxuriam paupertatem suam, et ab egestate postea in furta et [23]effracturas et aliquando etiam in latrocinia prosiliunt, et subito multis et magnis timoribus implentur; et qui in popina paulo ante cantabant, iam planctus carceris somniant. Studiis autem spectaculorum fiunt [24]daemonibus similes, clamoribus suis incitando homines, ut [24a]se invicem caedant, secumque habeant contentiosa certamina qui [25]se non laeserunt, dum placere insano populo cupiunt; quos si animadverterint esse concordes, tunc eos oderunt et persequuntur, et tamquam [26]collusores ut fustibus verberentur exclamant, et hanc iniquitatem facere etiam vindicem iniquitatum iudicem cogunt; si

and because in course of time these objects are withdrawn and pass away, they vex their victims with fear and anguish and allow them no rest. For if a man should seek to find his rest in riches, he is rendered proud rather than free from care. Do we not see how many have lost their wealth of a sudden, how many too have perished by reason of it, either through their eagerness to possess it, or because their wealth is carried off from them when overcome by yet more covetous persons? And even if these riches remained with a man all his life and never deserted their lover, he himself at his death would forsake them. For what is the length of man's life, even if he lives to old age? Or when men desire old age, what else do they desire but prolonged infirmity? So, too, the honors of this world; what are they but empty pride and vanity and the danger of downfall? For thus says Holy Scripture: "All flesh is as grass; and the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass is withered, and the flower thereof is fallen away; but the word of the Lord endureth forever." Therefore he who desires true rest and true happiness must raise his hope from things that perish and pass away and place it in the Word of God; so that, cleaving to that which abides forever, he may also together with it abide forever.

(25) There are also men who neither seek to be rich nor go about striving to attain the vain pomp of honors, but wish to find their pleasure and satisfaction in gluttony and debaucheries, in theatres and frivolous shows, which they have free of charge in great cities. But thus they also both squander their small means in riotous living, and afterwards under pressure of want, break out into thefts and burglaries, and sometimes even into highway robberies, and are suddenly filled with fears both numerous and great, and they who a little before were singing in the tavern now dream of the sorrows of the prison. Moreover, in their eager pursuit of the games, they become like demons as they incite men by their cries to kill one another and to engage in furious contests, though they have done no injury to one another, in their desire to please a frantic mob; and if they observe that they are peaceably disposed, they straightway hate and persecute them, and raise a cry for them to be beaten with rods, on the ground that they are in collusion; and this wickedness they compel even the judge who is the avenger of wickedness to commit. But if they perceive that

autem horrendas [27]adversus invicem inimicitias eos exercere cognoverint (sive [28]sintae qui appellantur, sive scenici et [29]thymelici, sive [30]aurigae, sive [31]venatores, quos miseros non solum homines cum hominibus, sed etiam homines cum bestiis in certamen pugnamque committunt), quo maiore adversus invicem discordia furere senserint, eo magis amant et delectantur, et [32]incitatis favent et faventes incitant, plus adversus se ipsos insanientes ipsi spectatores [32a]alter pro altero, quam illi quorum insaniam insani provocant, sed insaniendo spectare desiderant. Quomodo ergo [33]sanitatem pacis tenere animus potest, qui discordiis et certaminibus pascitur? Qualis enim cibus sumitur, talis valetudo consequitur. Postremo, quamvis insana gaudia non sint gaudia, tamen [34]qualiacumque sint, et quantumlibet delectet iactantia divitiarum et tumor honorum, vorago popinarum et [35]bella theatrorum ei [36]immunditia fornicationum et [37]prurigo thermarum, aufert omnia ista una [38]febricula, et adhuc viventibus totam falsam beatitudinem subtrahit; remanet inanis et saucia conscientia deum sensura iudicem, quem noluit habere custodem; et inventura asperum dominum, quem dulcem patrem quaerere et amare contemsit.

Tu autem quia veram requiem quae post hanc vitam Christianis promittitur quaeris, etiam hic eam inter amarissimas vitae huius molestias suavem iucundamque gustabis, si eius qui eam promisit praecepta dilexeris. Cito enim senties [39]dulciores esse iustitiae fructus quam iniquitatis, et [40]verius atque iucundius gaudere hominem de bona conscientia inter molestias quam de mala inter delicias; quia non sic [41]venisti coniungi [42]ecclesiae dei, ut ex ea temporalem aliquam utilitatem requiras.

17 (26) Sunt enim qui propterea volunt esse Christiani, ut aut promereantur homines a quibus temporalia commoda exspectant, aut quia offendere nolunt quos timent. Sed isti [1]reprobi sunt; et si ad tempus eos portat ecclesia, [2]sicut area usque ad tempus venti-

they wreak their most frightful enmity upon each other—whether they be what are called 'sintae,' or actors and the stage-chorus, or charioteers, or common gladiators, poor wretches whom they pit in a fighting contest against one another, not only men against men, but even men against wild beasts—, and the fiercer the fury with which they perceive them to rage against one another, the more they love them and delight in them. They back them when in fury, and rouse it by backing them; the spectators themselves being madder against each other, as they back this combatant or that, than those whose madness they madly provoke, and whom they madly, too, desire to gaze upon. How, then, can the mind which feeds on dissension and strife preserve the health which comes from peace? For as the food taken, so is the resulting state of health. Finally, though mad pleasures are no pleasures, yet of whatever kind they are, and however much the display of riches, the pride of honors, and the devouring gluttony of taverns, and the factions of the theatres, and the uncleanness of fornication, and the lasciviousness of the baths give delight, yet one little fever carries all these things away, and robs them of the whole vain happiness of their life while yet alive. There remains a void and wounded conscience which shall experience the judgment of God whose protection it disdained to have; and shall find in Him a severe Lord Whom it scorned to seek and love as a gentle Father.

But you, inasmuch as you are seeking that true rest which is promised to Christians after this life, shall taste its sweetness and comfort even here amid the bitterest afflictions of this life, if you love the commandments of Him Who has promised it. For quickly will you realize that the fruits of righteousness are sweeter than those of iniquity, and that a man finds a more genuine and pleasurable joy in a good conscience amidst afflictions than he who has a bad conscience amid delights; for you have not come to be joined to the Church of God with the object of seeking from her some temporal advantage.

CHAPTER 17.

(26) For there are some who wish to be Christians either in order to gain the favor of men to whom they look for temporal advantages, or because they are loth to offend those whom they fear. But these are reprobate; and if the Church bears them for a time,

lationis paleam sustinet; si non se correxerint et propter futuram sempiternam requiem Christiani esse coeperint, in fine separabuntur. [3]Nec sibi blandiantur quod in area possunt esse cum frumento dei; quia in horreo cum illo non erunt, sed igni debito destinantur. Sunt etiam alii [3a]meliore quidem spe sed tamen non minore periculo, qui iam [3b]deum timent et non irrident Christianum nomen, nec simulato corde intrant ecclesiam dei, sed in [4]ista vita exspectant felicitatem, ut feliciores sint in rebus terrenis quam illi qui non [4a]colunt deum; ideoque cum viderint quosdam sceleratos et impios ista saeculi prosperitate pollere et excellere, se autem vel minus habere ista vel amittere, perturbantur, tamquam [5]sine causa deum colant, et facile a fide deficiunt.

(27) Qui autem propter beatitudinem sempiternam et perpetuam requiem quae [6]post hanc vitam sanctis futura promittitur, vult fieri Christianus, [7]ut non eat in ignem aeternum cum diabolo, sed in regnum aeternum intret cum Christo, vere ipse Christianus est; cautus in omni tentatione, [8]ne prosperis rebus corrumpatur, et ne frangatur adversis, et in abundantia bonorum terrenorum modestus et temperans, et in tribulationibus fortis et patiens. [9]Qui etiam proficiendo perveniet ad talem animum, [10]ut plus amet deum quam timeat gehennam: ut etiamsi dicat illi deus: "Utere deliciis carnalibus sempiternis, et quantum potes pecca, nec morieris, nec in gehennam mitteris, sed mecum tantummodo non eris," exhorrescat et omnino non peccet, non iam ut in illud quod timebat, non incidat, sed ne illum quem sic amat, offendat; in quo uno est requies, quam oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis adscendit, quam praeparavit deus diligentibus [11]eum.

(28) De qua [12]requie [13]significat scriptura, et non tacet [14]quod ab initio mundi ex quo fecit deus caelum et terram et omnia quae in eis sunt, [15]sex diebus operatus est, et septimo die requievit. [15a]Poterat enim omnipotens et uno momento temporis omnia facere. Non autem laboraverat, ut requiesceret, quando [16]*Dixit, et facta*

as the threshing-floor suffers the chaff until the time of winnowing, yet unless they amend, and begin to be Christians for the sake of the everlasting rest hereafter, they will in the end be separated from her. And let them not flatter themselves because they are able to be on the threshing-floor with God's grain, for they shall not be with it in the barn, but are doomed to the fire which they deserve. There are also others who have, it is true, a better prospect, but are, nevertheless, in no less peril; they already fear God and do not mock the Christian name, or enter the church of God with a feigned heart; but look for prosperity in this life, thinking to be more prosperous in earthly things than those who do not worship God. And so, when they see certain wicked and godless men flourishing and excelling in the prosperity of this world, while they themselves either do not have those things or lose them, they are troubled in mind as if they worshipped God in vain, and easily fall away from the faith.

(27) But he who wishes to become a Christian for the sake of that everlasting blessedness and perpetual rest, which is promised to the saints as their future portion after this life, that he may not go into eternal fire with the devil, but may enter with Christ into His eternal kingdom, he is a Christian in very deed; wary in every temptation, that he be not corrupted by prosperity or broken in spirit by adversity, at once moderate and frugal amidst the abundance of worldly goods, and in tribulations courageous and patient. And he, moreover, as he advances will attain to such a mind that he loves God more than he fears hell; so that even were God to say to him, "Enjoy carnal delights forever, and sin as much as you are able, yet you shall neither die nor be cast into hell, but this only, you shall not be with me," he would shudder at it, and would not sin at all, yet no longer to avoid falling into that which once he dreaded, but that he might not offend Him Whom he so loves; in Whom alone is that rest which 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man'—that rest which God hath prepared for them that love Him.

(28) Now concerning this rest Scripture declares and does not keep silent, that from the beginning of the world wherein God made heaven and earth and all the things that are in them, He worked six days and on the seventh day He rested. For being the Almighty He could have made all things even in a single instant.

sunt; mandavit, et creata sunt; sed ut significaret, quia [17]post sex aetates mundi huius, septima aetate tamquam septimo die requieturus est in sanctis suis; quia ipsi in illo requiescent [18]post omnia bona opera, [19]in quibus ei servierunt, quae ipse [20]in illis operatur [21]qui vocat et praecipit et delicta praeterita dimittit et iustificat eum qui prius erat impius. [22]Sicut autem cum illi ex dono eius bene operantur, recte dicitur ipse operari; sic, cum in illo requiescunt, recte dicitur ipse requiescere. Nam quod ad ipsum adtinet, [23]pausationem non quaerit, quia laborem non sentit. [24]Fecit autem omnia per verbum suum; et verbum eius ipse Christus, in quo requiescunt angeli et omnes caelestes mundissimi spiritus in sancto silentio. Homo autem peccato lapsus perdidit requiem, quam habebat in eius divinitate, et recipit eam in eius humanitate; ideoque [25]opportuno tempore, quo ipse sciebat oportere fieri, homo factus et [26]de femina natus est. [27]A carne quippe contaminari non poterat, ipse carnem potius mundaturus. Ipsum [27a]antiqui sancti venturum in revelatione spiritus cognoverunt et prophetaverunt; et sic [28]salvi facti sunt [29]credendo quia veniet, sicut nos salvi efficimur credendo quia venit; ut diligeremus deum, [30]qui sic nos dilexit, ut unicum filium suum mitteret, [31]qui humilitate nostrae mortalitatis indutus et [32]a peccatoribus et pro peccatoribus moreretur. Iam enim [33]olim ab ineuntibus saeculis [34]mysterii huius altitudo [35]praefigurari praenuntiarique non cessat.

18 (29) Quoniam [1]deus omnipotens, et bonus et iustus et misericors, [2]qui fecit omnia bona, sive magna sive parva, sive summa sive infima; sive quae videntur, sicuti sunt caelum et terra et mare, et in caelo sol et luna, et [3]cetera sidera, in terra autem et mari [4]arbores et frutices et animalia suae cuiusque naturae, et omnia corpora vel caelestia vel terrestria; sive quae non videntur, sicuti sunt [5]spiritus quibus corpora vegetantur et vivificantur; [6]fecit et hominem ad imaginem suam: ut quemadmodum [7]ipse per omnipotentiam suam praeest universae creaturae, [8]sic homo per intelli-

But He had not labored to rest, when "He spoke and they were made; He commanded and they were created," but to signify that after six days of this world, in the seventh age as on the seventh day, He would be at rest in His saints; because they shall rest in Him after all the good works wherein they have served Him, which He Himself in them performs, "Who calls and commands them, and forgives their past sins and justifies him who before was ungodly." For as, when by His gift they work well, He Himself is rightly said to work, so when they rest in Him, He Himself is rightly said to rest. For as regards Himself, He seeks no respite, because He feels no toil. But He made all things through His word; and His word is Christ Himself, in Whom the angels and all the most pure heavenly spirits rest in holy silence. Now man fell by sin and lost the rest which he had in His divinity; and recovers it in His humanity; and to that end at the fitting time, at which He Himself knew this should come to pass, He was made man and born of a woman. For He could not be defiled by the flesh, of course, since He was rather to purify the flesh. That He Himself would come, the saints of old learned by the revelation of the Spirit and foretold. And thus they were saved by believing that He would come, even as we are saved by believing that He has come, to the end that we might love God, Who so loved us that He sent His only Son to put on the low estate of our mortal nature and die at the hands of sinners for sinners. For even of old time and from the beginning of ages, the sublimity of this mystery ceases not to be prefigured and foreshown.

CHAPTER 18.

(29) For God is almigthy and good and just and merciful; He made all things good, both great and small, both highest and lowest, both visible things, such as are the heavens, and the earth and the sea, and in the heavens the sun and moon and the other heavenly bodies, and in the earth and sea, trees and plants and animals each after its kind, and all bodies celestial or terrestrial, and invisible things such as are the spirits by which bodies are animated and quickened; He made man too in His own image, in order that, as He Himself by His omnipotence holds sway over the whole of creation, so man by his understanding, by which also

gentiam suam, qua etiam creatorem suum cognoscit et colit, praeesset omnibus terrenis animalibus. [9]Fecit illi etiam adiutorium feminam, [10]non ad carnalem concupiscentiam, quando quidem nec corruptibilia corpora tunc habebant, antequam eos mortalitas invaderet poena peccati, [11]sed ut haberet et vir gloriam de femina, cum ei praeiret ad deum, sequc illi praeberet imitandum [12]in sanctitate atque pietate; sicut ipse esset gloria dei, cum eius sapientiam sequeretur.

(30) Itaque constituit eos [13]in quodam loco perpetuae beatitudinis, quem appellat scriptura paradisum; praeceptumque illis dedit, quod si non [14]transgrederentur, in illa semper immortalitatis beatitudine permanerent; si autem transgrederentur, supplicia mortalitatis expenderent. [15]Praesciebat autem deus eos transgressuros; sed tamen, quia [16]conditor est et effector omnis boni, magis eos fecit, quando fecit et bestias, ut impleret terram bonis terrenis. Et utique [17]melior est homo etiam peccator quam bestia. Et praeceptum quod non erant servaturi, magis dedit, [18]ut essent inexcusabiles, cum in eos vindicare coepisset. Quidquid enim homo fecerit, [19]laudabilem in suis factis invenit deum: [20]si recte egerit, laudabilem invenit per iustitiam praemiorum; si peccaverit, laudabilem invenit per iustitiam suppliciorum; si peccata confessus ad recte vivendum redierit, laudabilem invenit per misericordiam indulgentiarum. Cur ergo non faceret deus hominem, [21]quamvis eum peccaturum praenosceret, [22]cum et stantem coronaret et cadentem ordinaret et surgentem adiuvaret, semper et ubique [23]ipse gloriosus [24]bonitate, iustitia, clementia? maxime quia et illud praesciebat, de [25]propagine mortalitatis eius futuros sanctos, [26]qui non sibi quaererent, sed creatori suo [26a]gloriam darent, et eum colendo ab omni corruptione liberati, cum angelis sanctis semper vivere et beate vivere mererentur? Qui enim hominibus [27]dedit liberum arbitrium, ut non servili necessitate, sed ingenua voluntate deum colerent, dedit etiam angelis; et ideo [28]nec angelus, qui cum

he comes to know and worships his Creator, might hold sway over all the living things of the earth. He also made woman to be his helpmate, not for carnal concupiscence—since at that time before mortality, the penalty of sin, came upon them, they did not have perishable bodies—but that the man might both have glory of the woman when he went before her to God and might offer himself to her as an example for her to follow in holiness and godliness; even as he himself should be the glory of God, in following His wisdom.

(30) And so He placed them in a certain place of perpetual bliss, which the Scripture calls Paradise; and gave them a commandment, which if they did not transgress they should ever abide in that bliss of immortality; but if they transgressed it, they should pay the penalties of mortality. Now God foreknew that they would transgress it; but nevertheless, because He is the creator and maker of everything good, He made them more especially (since He made the beasts also) that He might fill the earth with the good things of the earth. And assuredly man, even as a sinner, is better than a beast. And the commandment, which they were not to keep, He gave them the rather that they might be without excuse when He should begin to take vengeance upon them. For whatever man does, he finds Him worthy of praise in His deeds; if he acts rightly, he finds Him worthy of praise for the justice of His rewards; if he sins, he finds Him worthy of praise for the justice of His punishments; if he confesses his sins and returns to an upright manner of life, he finds Him worthy of praise for the mercy of His forgiveness. Why, then, should God not have made man, even though He foreknew that he would sin, seeing that He was to crown him if he stood firm, make him conform to the divine order if he sinned, and help him if he repented, being Himself at all times and in all places glorious in goodness, justice, and mercy? Especially since He foreknew this also, that from this mortal stock should spring saints who should not seek their own glory, but should give it to their Creator, and who being freed from all corruption, by worshipping Him, should merit an everlasting life, and a blessed life with the holy angels. For He Who gave free will to men in order that they might worship God, not of necessity as slaves, but of their own good will as free men, gave it also to the angels; and therefore not even did the angel who with other

spiritibus aliis satellitibus suis superbiendo deseruit oboedientiam dei et diabolus factus est, aliquid nocuit deo, sed sibi. [28a]Novit enim deus ordinare deserentes se [29]animas, et ex earum iusta miseria inferiores partes creaturae suae convenientissimis et congruentissimis legibus admirandae dispensationis ornare. [30]Itaque nec diabolus aliquid deo nocuit, quia vel ipse lapsus est, vel hominem seduxit ad mortem; nec ipse homo [31]in aliquo minuit veritatem aut potestatem aut beatitatem conditoris sui, quia [32]coniugi suae seductae a diabolo, ad id quod deus prohibuerat, [32a]propria voluntate consensit. Iustissimis enim dei legibus [33]omnes damnati sunt, deo glorioso per aequitatem vindictae, ipsi ignominiosi per turpitudinem poenae; ut et [34]homo a suo creatore aversus victus diabolo subderetur, et diabolus homini ad creatorem suum converso vincendus proponeretur; ut quicunque [35]diabolo usque in finem consentirent, cum illo irent in aeterna supplicia, quicunque autem humiliarent se deo et per eius gratiam diabolum vincerent aeterna praemia mererentur.

19 (31) Neque hoc nos movere debet, quia [1]multi diabolo consentiunt, et pauci deum sequuntur; quia et frumentum in comparatione palearum valde pauciorem habet numerum. Sed sicut agricola novit quid faciat de ingenti acervo paleae, sic nihil est deo multitudo peccatorum, qui [2]novit quid de illis agat, [3]ut administratio regni eius ex nulla parte turbetur atque turpetur. Nec ideo putandus est vicisse diabolus, quia secum plures, cum quibus a paucis vinceretur, [3a]adtraxit. [4]Duae itaque civitates, una iniquorum, altera sanctorum, ab initio generis humani usque in finem saeculi perducuntur, nunc [5]permixtae corporibus, sed voluntatibus separatae, in die vero iudicii etiam corpore separandae. [6]Omnes enim homines amantes superbiam et temporalem dominationem cum vano [7]typho et [8]pompa arrogantiae, omnesque spiritus qui talia diligunt, et gloriam suam subiectione hominum quaerunt, simul una socie-

spirits, his henchmen, forsook his obedience to God through pride and became the devil, do any hurt to God, but only to himself. For God knows how to make souls that forsake Him conform to the divine order, and by their justly deserved misery to furnish the lower parts of His creation with the most meet and suitable laws of His wondrous dispensation. And so neither did the devil harm God at all either by his own fall or by leading man astray unto death, nor did man himself diminish one whit the truth or power or blessedness of his Creator, because when his spouse was led astray by the devil into that which God had forbidden, he of his own will consented unto her. For by the most just laws of God were all condemned, to the glory of God through the justice of His vengeance, and to their own ignominy by the shame and disgrace of their punishment; namely, that man, who had turned away from his Creator should be vanquished and subjected to the devil; and the devil, when man should turn to his Creator, should be set before him as a foe to be vanquished; so that all who consented to the devil unto the end should go with him into eternal punishment; but that all who humbled themselves before God, and by His grace overcame the devil, should win eternal rewards.

CHAPTER 19.

(31) And we ought not to be disturbed that many consent to the devil, and few follow God; for the grain, too, in comparison with the chaff, yields a much smaller amount. But as the husbandman knows what to do with the huge heap of chaff, so the multitude of sinners is nothing to God, Who knows His purpose with regard to them, so that the administration of His kingdom may in no respect be disturbed or debased. Nor must we think that the devil has conquered because he has drawn away many with him only to be overcome, they with him, by a few. Thus there are two cities, one of the wicked, the other of the just, which endure from the beginning of the human race even to the end of time, which are now intermingled in body, but separated in will, and which, moreover, are to be separated in body also on the day of judgment. For all men who love pride and temporal dominion together with empty vanity and display of presumption, and all spirits who set their affections on such things and seek their own glory by the subjection

tate devincti sunt; sed et si saepe adversum [9]se pro his rebus dimicant, [10]pari tamen pondere cupiditatis in eamdem profunditatem praecipitantur, et sibi morum et meritorum similitudine coniunguntur. Et rursus omnes homines et omnes spiritus humiliter dei gloriam quaerentes, non suam, et eum pietate sectantes, ad unam pertinent societatem. Et tamen deus [11]misericordissimus, et [12]super impios homines patiens est, et praebet eis paenitentiae atque correctionis locum.

(32) Nam et quod omnes [13]diluvio delevit, excepto uno iusto cum suis, quos in [14]arca servari voluit, [15]noverat quidem quod non se correcturi essent; verumtamen, cum per centum annos arca fabricata est, praedicabatur utique eis ira dei ventura super eos; et si [16]converterentur ad deum, parceret eis; sicut [17]pepercit postea Ninive civitati agenti paenitentiam, cum ei [18]per prophetam futurum interitum praenuntiasset. Hoc autem facit deus, etiam illis quos novit [19]in malitia perseveraturos dans paenitendi spatium, ut nostram patientiam exerceat et [20]informet exemplo suo; quo noverimus quantum nos oporteat tolerabiliter malos sustinere, [21]cum ignoremus quales postea futuri sunt, quando ille parcit et sinit eos vivere, quem nihil futurorum latet. Praenuntiabatur tamen etiam [22]diluvii sacramento, quo per [23]lignum iusti liberati sunt, futura ecclesia, quam [24]rex eius et deus Christus mysterio suae crucis ab huius saeculi [25]submersione suspendit. Neque enim deus ignorabat quod etiam ex illis qui fuerant in arca servati, nascituri erant mali, qui faciem terrae iniquitatibus iterum implerent; sed tamen et exemplum futuri iudicii dedit, et sanctorum liberationem ligni mysterio praenuntiavit. Nam et post haec non cessavit repullulare malitia per superbiam et libidines et illicitas [26]impietates, cum homines, deserto creatore suo, [27]non solum ad creaturam quam deus condidit, lapsi sunt, ut pro deo colerent quod fecit deus; sed etiam ad opera manuum hominum et ad fabrorum artificia curvaverunt animas suas, [27a]ubi de illis turpius [28]diabolus

of man, are bound fast together in one fellowship; and even though they frequently fight one with another for these ends, still they are flung headlong by an equal weight of desire into the same abyss, and are united to one another by the likeness of their ways and deserts. And again, all men and all spirits who humbly seek God's glory, not their own, and who follow Him in godliness, belong to one fellowship. And yet God is most merciful and long-suffering toward ungodly men, and offers them room for repentance and amendment.

(32) Likewise with regard to His destruction of all men by the flood, save one just man with his kindred whom He willed to preserve in the ark, He knew indeed that they would not amend; yet during the hundred years that the ark was building, the wrath of God, which was coming upon them, was at any rate preached to them, and if they had turned to God, He would have spared them, even as afterwards He spared the city of Nineveh which repented, when He through His prophet had foretold its impending destruction. Now this God does, granting an opportunity for repentance even to those who, He knows, will persist in their wickedness, in order to exercise and mould our patience with Himself as our pattern; that we may thereby know how greatly we ought to suffer the wicked with forbearance, since we do not know what manner of men they may afterwards become, seeing that He, from Whom nothing of the future is hidden, spares them and suffers them to live. Moreover, by the symbol of the flood, wherein the just were saved by the wood (of the ark) the Church to be was foreannounced, which Christ, her King and God, by the mystery (of the wood) of His Cross, has buoyed up above the flood in which this world is submerged. Moreover, God was not ignorant of the fact that even from those who had been saved in the ark there should be born wicked men who should once more cover the face of the earth with iniquities. But, nevertheless, He both gave a type of the future judgment, and foretold the deliverance of the just by the mystery of the wood. For even after this wickedness did not cease to sprout forth again through pride and lusts and forbidden acts of ungodliness, when men forsaking their Creator, not only fell away to the creation that God made, so that they, instead of worshipping God, worshipped His creatures; but even bowed their minds to the works of men's hands and to the devices

et daemonia triumpharent; [29]quae se in talibus figmentis adorari venerarique laetantur, dum [30]errores suos humanis erroribus pascunt.

(33) [31]Neque tunc sane defuerunt iusti, qui deum pie quaererent et superbiam diaboli vincerent, [32]cives illius sanctae civitatis, quos regis sui Christi ventura humilitas per spiritum revelata sanavit. Ex quibus [33]Abraham pius et fidelis dei servus electus est, cui demonstraretur [34]sacramentum filii dei, ut propter imitationem fidei [35]omnes fideles omnium gentium filii eius futuri dicerentur.

Ex illo natus est populus, a quo unus deus verus coleretur, [36]qui fecit caelum et terram, cum ceterae gentes simulacris et daemoniis servirent. In eo plane populo multo evidentius futura ecclesia figurata est. Erat enim ibi multitudo carnalis, quae propter visibilia beneficia colebat deum. Erant ibi autem [37]pauci futuram requiem cogitantes et caelestem patriam requirentes, quibus prophetando revelabatur futura [37a]humilitas dei, regis et [38]domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut per eam fidem [39]ab omni superbia et tumore sanarentur. Horum sanctorum [40]qui praecesserunt tempore nativitatem domini, non solum sermo, sed etiam vita et [41]coniugia et [42]filii et facta prophetia fuit huius temporis, quo per fidem passionis Christi [43]ex gentibus congregatur ecclesia. Per illos sanctos patriarchas et prophetas carnali populo Israel, qui postea etiam Iudaei appellati sunt, et visibilia beneficia ministrabantur quae carnaliter a domino desiderabant, et coercitiones poenarum corporalium, quibus pro tempore terrerentur, sicut eorum [44]duritiae congruebat. Et in his tamen omnibus mysteria spiritalia significabantur, quae [45]ad Christum et ecclesiam pertinerent; cuius ecclesiae membra erant etiam illi sancti, quamvis in hac vita [46]fuerint antequam [47]secundum carnem Christus dominus nasceretur. Ipse enim [48]unigenitus dei filius, [49]verbum patris, aequale et [50]coaeternum

of craftsmen, whereby the devil and his evil spirits might triumph the more shamefully over them; for these rejoice that they are adored and worshipped in such sculptured images, while they feed their own errors upon the errors of men.

(33) And even then, I admit, there were not wanting just men to seek God devoutly and vanquish the pride of the devil, citizens of that holy city, who were made whole by the future humility of Christ, their King, revealed to them through the spirit. Of these, Abraham, a devout and faithful servant of God, was chosen that to him might be made the revelation concerning the son of God, so that by imitating his faith all the faithful of all nations in time to come might be called his children.

From him was born a people who should worship the one true God, who made heaven and earth, while all the other nations served idols and evil spirits. In that people, without doubt, the future Church was much more clearly figured, for in it there was the carnal multitude which worshipped God for the sake of visible benefits. But in it there were also a few who thought on the rest to come and sought a heavenly home; to whom was revealed by prophecy the future humility of God, our King and Lord, Jesus Christ, that through faith in Him they might be cured of all haughtiness and swelling pride. Not only the words of these holy men who in point of time preceded the Lord's birth, but also their lives, their wives, children, and acts were a prophecy of this time, wherein through faith in the passion of Christ the Church is being gathered together from the nations. Through the ministry of those holy patriarchs and prophets both these visible blessings, which they carnally craved of the Lord, were bestowed on the carnal people Israel who afterwards were also called Jews, and likewise those frequent chastisements consisting of corporal punishments, whereby they might be frightened in due season, as was meet for their hardness of heart. And yet in all these things there were signified spiritual mysteries closely associated with Christ and the Church of which even those saints were members, although they lived before Christ our Lord was born according to the flesh. For He Himself, the only-begotten Son of God, the Word of the Father, equal to and coeternal with the Father, by which Word all things were made, became man for our

patri, per quod facta sunt omnia, [51]homo propter nos factus est, [52]ut totius ecclesiae tamquam totius corporis caput esset. Sed velut totus homo dum nascitur, etiamsi manum in nascendo praemittat, tamen universo corpori sub capite [53]coniuncta atque compacta est, quemadmodum etiam nonnulli in ipsis patriarchis ad huius ipsius rei signum manu praemissa nati sunt, ita omnes sancti qui [54]ante domini nostri Iesu Christi nativitatem in terris fuerunt, [55]quamvis ante nati sunt, tamen universo corpori, cuius ille caput est, sub capite cohaeserunt.

20 (34) Populus ergo ille delatus in Aegyptum, [1]servivit regi durissimo, et gravissimis [1a]laboribus eruditus quaesivit liberatorem deum; et missus est eis [2]unus de ipso populo, sanctus dei servus Moyses, qui [3]in virtute dei magnis miraculis terrens tunc [4]impiam gentem Aegyptiorum, eduxit inde [5]populum dei per mare rubrum; ubi [6]discedens aqua viam praebuit transeuntibus; [7]Aegyptii autem, cum eos persequerentur, redeuntibus in se fluctibus demersi exstincti sunt. Ita quemadmodum per diluvium aquis terra purgata est a [8]nequitia peccatorum, qui tunc in illa inundatione deleti sunt, et iusti evaserunt per lignum, sic ex Aegypto exiens populus dei, per aquas iter invenit, quibus ipsorum hostes consumti sunt. Nec ibi defuit ligni sacramentum. Nam [9]virga percussit Moyses, ut illud miraculum fieret. Utrumque signum est sancti [10]baptismi, per quod fideles in [10a]novam vitam transeunt, peccata vero eorum tamquam inimici delentur atque moriuntur. Apertius autem Christi [11]passio in illo populo figurata est, cum [12]iussi sunt ovem occidere et manducare, et [13]de sanguine eius postes suos signare, et hoc celebrare [14]omni anno, et appellare [15]pascha domini. [16]Manifestissime quippe prophetia de domino Iesu Christo dicit quia [17]*tamquam ovis ad immolandum ductus est.* [18]Cuius passionis et crucis signo in fronte hodie tamquam in poste signandus es, omnesque Christiani signantur.

sakes, in order that He might be to the whole Church what the head is to the body. But just as while the whole man is being born, even though he should put forth a hand first in the act of birth, this hand is nevertheless joined and fitted to his body beneath the head (just as also some among the patriarchs themselves were born with the hand put forth first as a sign of this very thing), so all the just who were on earth before the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, though born before Him, nevertheless clave beneath the head to that universal body of which He is the head.

CHAPTER 20.

(34) That people, then, was carried away into Egypt, and served a most hard-hearted king, and schooled by the most severe labors sought God as their deliverer, and there was sent to them one from their own people, Moses, a holy servant of God, who in the power of God terrifying at that time by great miracles the godless nation of the Egyptians, led forth thence the people of God through the Red Sea, where the water parted and made them a passage as they crossed over; but the Egyptians, when they were pursuing them, were engulfed in the waves returning to their bed and perished. Thus, even as the earth was cleansed by the waters from the iniquity of sinners who were then destroyed in that flood, while the righteous escaped by means of the wood (of the Ark), so God's people as they went forth from Egypt found a way through the waters by which their enemies were completely destroyed. And here, too, the mystery of the wood was not lacking. For Moses struck (the waters) with a rod that this miracle might be wrought. Both are symbols of holy baptism, whereby the faithful pass over into a new life but their sins like enemies are totally blotted out. But even more openly was Christ's passion figured in the case of that people when they were commanded to kill and eat a sheep, and to mark with its blood their door-posts, and to celebrate this rite every year, and to call it the Lord's Passover. Most distinctly, indeed, does the prophecy say of our Lord Jesus Christ that "He was led as a sheep to be sacrificed." And with the sign of His passion and cross, you today are to be signed and sealed upon your forehead, as it were upon a door-post; and so are all Christians signed and sealed.

(35) Inde per [19]desertum populus ille ductus est [20]per quadraginta annos. [21]Accepit etiam legem digito dei scriptam, quo nomine significatur spiritus sanctus, sicut in evangelio manifestissime declaratur. [22]Neque enim deus forma corporis definitus est, nec sic in illo membra et digiti cogitandi sunt, quemadmodum videmus in nobis; sed quia per spiritum sanctum dona dei sanctis dividuntur, ut [23]cum diversa possunt, non tamen discedant a concordia caritatis, [24]in digitis autem maxime apparet quaedam divisio, nec tamen ab unitate [25]praecisio, sive propterea, sive propter aliam [26]quamcumque causam spiritus sanctus appellatus est digitus dei, non tamen cum hoc audimus, humani corporis forma cogitanda est. Accepit ergo ille populus legem digito dei scriptam [27]in tabulis sane lapideis, ad significandam [27a]duritiam cordis illorum, quod legem non erant impleturi. Corporalia quippe dona desiderantes a domino, magis carnali timore quam spiritali caritate tenebantur; [28]legem autem non implet nisi caritas. Ideo multis sacramentis visibilibus onerati sunt, quo [29]servili iugo premerentur, in [30]observationibus ciborum et in sacrificiis animalium et in aliis innumerabilibus; quae tamen signa erant rerum spiritalium ad dominum Iesum Christum et ad ecclesiam pertinentium; quae tunc a paucis sanctis et intelligebantur ad [31]fructum salutis et observabantur ad congruentiam temporis, a multitudine vero carnalium tantummodo observabantur, non intelligebantur.

(36) Per [32]multa itaque et varia signa rerum futurarum, quas [32a]longum est omnes commemorare, et eas nunc in ecclesia videmus impleri, perductus est ille populus ad terram promissionis, ubi [33]temporaliter carnaliterque regnaret pro modo desiderii sui; quod tamen regnum terrenum regni spiritalis [34]imaginem gessit. Ibi [35]Ierusalem condita est famosissima civitas dei, [36]serviens in signo liberae civitatis, quae caelestis [37]Ierusalem dicitur, quod verbum est Hebraeum, et [38]interpretatur [39]visio pacis. Cuius cives sunt omnes sanctificati homines qui fuerunt, et qui sunt, et qui futuri sunt; et omnes sanctificati spiritus, etiam [40]quicumque in excelsis caelorum partibus pia devotione obtemperant deo, nec imitantur

(35) Then that people was led through the desert for forty years. It also received the law written by the finger of God, by which name the Holy Ghost is signified, as is most plainly declared in the Gospel. For God is not limited by bodily form, nor are we to think of members and fingers in His case, even as we see them in ourselves. But because it is through the Holy Ghost that the gifts of God are apportioned among the saints, so that while they vary in power, yet they do not depart from the harmony of love; and because again it is in the fingers that a certain division is especially apparent, yet without any separation from unity; either for this reason or for some other the Holy Ghost has been called the finger of God; yet, when we hear this name, we must not think of the form of the human body. That people, then, received the law written by the finger of God on tablets which were, it is true, of stone, to typify the hardness of their hearts because they were not to fulfil the law. For inasmuch as it was material gifts that they were craving from God, they were held more by carnal fear than by spiritual love; but naught save love fulfills the law. Therefore they were burdened with many visible sacraments, that thereby they might be weighed down as beneath the yoke of bondage, in the matter of observances in foods, and in sacrifices of animals, and in other things innumerable; all these, nevertheless, were tokens of spiritual things relating to the Lord Jesus Christ and to the Church; which then were understood by a few holy men so as to bear the fruit of salvation, and were observed in accordance with the fitness of the time, but by the multitude of carnal men they were observed only, not understood.

(36) And so through many and diverse tokens of things to come, which it would be a long task to enumerate in full, and which we now see fulfilled in the Church, that people was brought all the way to the land of promise, there to reign in a temporal and carnal manner according to the measure of its longing; which earthly kingdom was, nevertheless, a figure of the spiritual kingdom. In it Jerusalem was built, the most illustrious city of God, which in her bondage was a type of that free city which is called the heavenly Jerusalem; this word is Hebrew and is interpreted "vision of peace." Its citizens are all the sanctified, who have been, who are, and who shall be; and all sanctified spirits, even all whosoever obey God with loyal devotion in the highest heavens, and do not imitate

impiam diaboli superbiam et angelorum eius. Huius civitatis rex est dominus Iesus Christus, [41]verbum dei [42]quo reguntur summi angeli, et verbum [43]hominem assumens, ut [44]eo regerentur et homines, qui simul omnes cum illo in aeterna pace regnabunt. Ad huius regis [45]praefigurationem in illo terreno regno populi Israel maxime eminuit rex David, [46]de cuius semine secundum carnem veniret verissimus rex noster dominus Iesus Christus, *qui est super omnia deus benedictus in saecula.* Multa in illa terra promissionis gesta sunt in figuram venturi Christi et ecclesiae, [47]quae in sanctis libris paulatim discere poteris.

21 (37) Post aliquot tamen generationes ostendit alium typum ad rem maxime pertinentem. Nam [1]captivata est illa civitas, et [1a]multa pars eius educta in Babyloniam. Sicut autem Ierusalem significat [2]civitatem societatemque sanctorum, sic [3]Babylonia significat civitatem societatemque iniquorum, quoniam dicitur interpretari confusio. De quibus duabus civitatibus, ab exordio generis humani usque in finem saeculi permixte temporum varietate currentibus et ultimo iudicio separandis, paulo ante iam diximus. Illa ergo [4]captivitas Ierusalem civitatis, et ille populus in Babyloniam ductus ad servitutem ire iubetur a domino per [5]Ieremiam illius temporis prophetam. Et exstiterunt reges Babyloniae, [5a]sub quibus illi serviebant, qui ex eorum occasione commoti quibusdam [5b]miraculis cognoscerent et colerent et coli iuberent unum verum deum, qui condidit universam [6]creaturam. Iussi sunt autem et [7]orare pro eis, a quibus captivi tenebantur, [8]et in eorum pace pacem sperare, ad gignendos filios et domos aedificandas et plantandos hortos et vineas. Post septuaginta autem annos promittitur eis [9]ab illa captivitate liberatio.

Hoc autem totum [10]figurate significabat ecclesiam Christi in omnibus sanctis eius, qui sunt cives Ierusalem caelestis, servituram fuisse sub regibus huius saeculi. [11]Dicit enim et apo-

the impious pride of the devil and his angels. The King of this city is the Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, by Whom the highest heavens are ruled, the Word Who took upon Him human nature that by Him those men likewise might be ruled, who shall all reign together with Him in eternal peace. As a prefiguration of this King in that earthly kingdom of the people of Israel, King David stood out most prominently, of whose seed according to the flesh was to come our King in very truth, the Lord Jesus Christ, "Who is over all things, God blessed forever." In that land of promise many things were done for a type of the Christ to come and of the Church; and these you will be able to learn gradually in the holy books.

CHAPTER 21.

(37) Yet after several generations He exhibited another type which was exceedingly pertinent to his design. For that city was made captive and a great part of it led away into Babylon. Now as Jerusalem signifies the city and fellowship of the righteous, so Babylon signifies the city and fellowship of the unrighteous, since it is said to be interpreted 'confusion.' We have already spoken a little before of these two cities running on indistinguishably from the beginning of the human race to the end of the world, through the changing ages, and destined to be separated at the last Judgment. So the captive city of Jerusalem, and the people led forth into Babylon, is bidden to go into bondage by the Lord, through Jeremias, a prophet of that time. And there arose kings of Babylon, under whom they were in bondage, who, having been stirred by certain wonders occasioned by their presence, came to know and worship and ordered to be worshipped the one true God, the author of all creation. Moreover, they were bidden both to pray for those by whom they were held captive, and in the peace of these to hope for peace, for the begetting of children and the building of houses and the planting of gardens and vineyards. But deliverance from that captivity after seventy years was promised them.

Now, all this signified in a figure that the Church of Christ, in all His saints, who are citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, was to be in bondage under the kings of this world. For the teaching of

stolica doctrina ut [12]*omnis anima sublimioribus potestatibus subdita sit;* et ut reddantur *omnibus omnia; cui tributum tributum, cui vectigal vectigal;* et cetera quae [12a]salvo dei nostri cultu constitutionis humanae principibus reddimus; quando et ipse dominus, ut nobis huius [13]sanae doctrinae praeberet exemplum, pro capite hominis quo erat indutus, [14]tributum solvere non dedignatus est. [15]Iubentur autem etiam servi Christiani et boni fideles dominis suis temporalibus [16]aequanimiter fideliterque servire; [17]quos iudicaturi sunt, si usque in finem iniquos invenerint, aut cum quibus aequaliter regnaturi sunt, si et illi ad verum deum conversi fuerint. Omnibus tamen praecipitur servire humanis potestatibus atque terrenis, [18]quo usque post tempus praefinitum, quod significant septuaginta anni, ab istius saeculi confusione tamquam de captivitate Babyloniae, sicut Ierusalem liberetur ecclesia. Ex cuius captivitatis occasione ipsi etiam [19]terreni reges desertis idolis, pro quibus persequebantur Christianos, unum verum deum et Christum dominum cognoverunt et colunt, pro quibus apostolus Paulus iubet [20]orari, etiam cum persequerentur ecclesiam. Sic enim dicit: [21]*Obsecro itaque primum fieri deprecationes, adorationes, interpellationes, gratiarum actiones pro regibus, pro omnibus hominibus, et omnibus qui in sublimitate sunt, ut securam et tranquillam vitam agamus cum omni pietate et* [21a]*caritate.* Itaque per ipsos [22]data pax est ecclesiae, quamvis temporalis, tranquillitas temporalis [23]ad aedificandas spiritaliter domos et plantandos hortos et vineas. Nam et ecce te modo per istum sermonem aedificamus atque plantamus. Et hoc fit per [23a]totum orbem terrarum [24]cum pace regum Christianorum, sicut idem dicit apostolus: [25]*Dei agricultura, dei aedificatio estis.*

(38) Et post annos quidem septuaginta, quos mystice prophetaverat [25a]Ieremias, ut finem temporum praefiguraret, tamen ut ipsa figura integraretur, facta est in Ierusalem restitutio [26]aedificationis templi dei; [27]sed quia totum figurate agebatur, non erat firma pax ac libertas reddita Iudaeis. Itaque postea [28]a Romanis victi sunt, et tributarii facti. [29]Ex illo sane tempore ex quo terram promissionis acceperunt, et reges habere coeperunt, ne in aliquo regum

the apostle also enjoins that "every soul should be subject to higher powers" and that "to all men should be rendered all things; tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom," and so with other things which, saving the worship of our God, we render to the rulers of the human order; since the Lord Himself, that He might afford us an example of this sound teaching, did not disdain to pay poll-tax on the humanity with which He was invested. Moreover, Christian servants and the good faithful are also bidden to serve their temporal masters with patience and fidelity, whom they are to judge, if they find them unrighteous to the last; or with whom they are to reign as equals, if they likewise turn to the true God. Still, all are directed to be subject to human and earthly powers, until, at the end of the foreordained time, which the seventy years signify, the Church is delivered from the confusion of this world, as was Jerusalem from the captivity of Babylon. And by occasion of this captivity even earthly kings, forsaking the idols for the sake of which they were wont to persecute the Christians, have come to know and worship the one true God and Christ the Lord, and it is on their behalf, even when they were persecuting the Church, that the apostle Paul bids prayer be made. For these are his words: "I desire therefore in the first place that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for kings, for all men, and for all that are in high station; that we may lead a quiet and a peaceable life in all piety and charity." And so through these very kings peace was given to the Church, albeit temporal peace, temporal quietude for the spiritual building of houses and planting of gardens and vineyards. For, behold, we too are now building up and planting you by this discourse. And this is being done throughout the whole world, with the permission of Christian kings, even as the same apostle says: "you are God's husbandry, God's building."

(38) And, indeed, after the seventy years which Jeremias had mystically prophesied that he might prefigure the end of ages, and that the figure itself might nevertheless be renewed, the rebuilding of the temple of God was begun in Jerusalem; but because all this was done in a figure, assured peace and liberty were not restored to the Jews. Thus it was that they were afterwards overcome by the Romans and made tributary. From the time indeed when they received the land of promise and began to have kings, lest they

suorum completum esse arbitrarentur quod eis liberator Christus promittebatur, apertius [30]per multas prophetias prophetatus est Christus non solum ab ipso David in libro [31]psalmorum, sed etiam a ceteris et magnis et sanctis prophetis, usque ad tempus captivitatis in Babyloniam; et in ipsa captivitate fuerunt prophetae, qui venturum dominum Iesum Christum liberatorem omnium prophetarent. Et postea quam templum transactis septuaginta annis restitutum est, tantas [32]pressuras et calamitates [33]a regibus gentium Iudaei perpessi sunt, ut intelligerent nondum venisse liberatorem, quem non spiritaliter liberaturum intelligebant, sed [34]pro liberatione carnali desiderabant.

22 (39) [1]Peractis ergo quinque aetatibus saeculi, quarum prima est ab initio generis humani, id est, ab Adam, qui primus homo factus est, usque ad Noe, qui fecit arcam in diluvio, inde secunda est usque ad [1a]Abraham, qui pater dictus est omnium quidem gentium, quae fidem ipsius imitarentur; sed tamen ex propagine carnis suae futuri populi Iudaeorum: qui [2]ante fidem Christianam gentium [3]unus inter [4]omnes omnium terrarum populus unum verum deum coluit, ex quo populo salvator Christus secundum carnem veniret. Isti enim articuli duarum aetatum eminent in veteribus libris; reliquarum autem trium in [4a]evangelio etiam declarantur, cum carnalis origo domini Iesu Christi commemoratur. Nam tertia est ab Abraham usque ad David regem; quarta a David usque ad illam captivitatem, qua populus dei in Babyloniam transmigravit; quinta ab illa [5]transmigratione usque ad adventum domini nostri Iesu Christi; ex cuius adventu [6]sexta aetas agitur; ut iam spiritalis gratia, quae paucis tunc patriarchis et prophetis nota erat, manifestaretur omnibus gentibus; ne quisquam deum nisi gratis coleret, non visibilia praemia servitutis suae et praesentis vitae felicitatem, sed solam vitam aeternam, in qua ipso deo frueretur, ab illo desiderans; ut [7]hac sexta aetate mens humana renovetur ad ima-

should think that the promise of Christ as their deliverer had been fulfilled in any of their kings, Christ was prophesied more openly in many prophecies, not only by David himself in the book of Psalms, but also by the other great and holy prophets, until the day of the carrying away captive to Babylon; and in the captivity itself there were prophets who prophesied that the Lord Jesus Christ should come as the deliverer of all. And after the temple had been restored at the expiration of the seventy years, the Jews suffered such great tribulations and afflictions at the hands of the kings of the Gentiles that they might understand that the deliverer had not yet come. For they did not understand that He should deliver them spiritually, but longed for Him for the sake of deliverance after the flesh.

CHAPTER 22.

(39) So five ages of the world are ended. Of these the first is from the beginning of the human race, that is from Adam, who was the first man made, to Noe, who built the ark in the time of the flood. The second extends from that point to Abraham, who was called indeed the father of all nations that should imitate his faith, but particularly of the future Jewish people, his descendants according to the flesh; which people alone of all the peoples of the whole world before the gentiles received the Christian faith, worshipped the one true God; from which people also Christ the Saviour should come according to the flesh. For the epochs made up of these two ages constitute the principal subject of the books of the Old Testament; but those of the remaining three are also related in the Gospel, when the ancestry of the Lord Jesus Christ according to the flesh is recorded. For the third age is from Abraham down to King David; the fourth from David down to that captivity in which God's people migrated to Babylon; the fifth from that migration down to the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. From His coming the sixth age is dated; that at length the spiritual grace which at that time was known only to a few, the patriarchs and prophets, might be made manifest to all nations; that no one might worship God for material benefit, craving from Him not the visible rewards of their service and the happiness of this present life, but eternal life only, in which to enjoy God Himself; that in this sixth age the human mind may be re-

ginem dei, sicut sexta die homo factus est ad imaginem dei. Tunc enim et lex impletur, dum non cupiditate rerum temporalium, sed caritate illius qui praecepit, fiunt quaecunque praecepit. Quis autem non redamare affectet [7a]iustissimum et misericordissimum deum, [7b]qui prior sic amavit iniustissimos et superbissimos homines, ut propter eos mitteret [7c]unicum filium, per quem fecit omnia; qui non sui mutatione, sed [8]hominis assumtione homo factus, non solum [9]cum eis vivere, sed etiam pro eis et ab eis posset occidi?

(40) Itaque [10]novum testamentum hereditatis sempiternae manifestans, in quo renovatus homo per gratiam dei ageret novam vitam, hoc est vitam spiritalem; [11]ut vetus ostenderet primum, in quo carnalis populus agens veterem hominem, exceptis paucis [12]intelligentibus patriarchis et prophetis et nonnullis latentibus sanctis, carnaliter vivens carnalia praemia desiderabat a domino deo, et in figura spiritalium bonorum accipiebat; omnia ergo bona terrena [13]contemsit homo factus dominus Christus, ut contemnenda monstraret; et omnia terrena sustinuit mala, quae sustinenda praecipiebat; ut neque in illis quaereretur felicitas, neque in [14]istis infelicitas timeretur. Natus enim [15]de matre, quae quamvis a viro intacta conceperit [16]semperque intacta permanserit, [17]virgo concipiens, virgo pariens, virgo moriens, tamen [18]fabro desponsata erat, omnem typhum carnalis nobilitatis exstinxit. Natus etiam in [18a]civitate [19]Bethleem, quae inter omnes Iudaeae civitates ita erat exigua, ut [20]hodieque [21]villa appelletur, noluit quemquam de cuiusquam terrenae civitatis sublimitate gloriari. [22]Pauper etiam factus est cuius sunt omnia et [23]per quem creata sunt omnia; ne quisquam, cum in eum crederet, de terrenis divitiis auderet extolli. [24]Noluit rex ab hominibus fieri, quia [25]humilitatis ostendebat viam miseris, quos ab eo superbia separaverat; quamvis [26]sempiternum eius regnum universa creatura testetur. [27]Esurivit, qui omnes pascit, sitivit, per quem creatur omnis potus, et qui spiritaliter [28]panis est

newed in the likeness of God, even as on the sixth day man was made in the likeness of God. For then, too, the law is fulfilled when all that it has commanded is done not from the lust of temporal things, but for the love of Him Who has given the commandment. Nay, then, who would not aim to return the love of the most righteous and merciful God, Who first so loved most unrighteous and proud men, that for their sakes He sent His only Son, through Whom He made all things, and Who being made man by no changing of Himself, but by the assumption of man's nature, might submit not only to live with them, but even to be slain both for them and by them?

(40) And so He made manifest a new covenant of the everlasting inheritance, wherein man, renewed by the grace of God, might lead a new life, that is the spiritual life; and that He might show the first covenant to be antiquated, wherein a carnal people living after the old man (with the exception of a few, patriarchs and prophets and some unknown saints, who had observed it), and leading a carnal life, eagerly desired of the Lord God carnal rewards and received them as a symbol of spiritual blessings. And therefore I say, did Christ the Lord, made man, despise all the good things of earth, that He might show us that these things are to be despised; and endured all earthly ills that He taught must be endured; so that neither might happiness be sought in the former nor unhappiness be feared in the latter. For, inasmuch as He was born of a mother who, although she conceived, was untouched by man and always remained untouched, a virgin in conception, a virgin in childbirth, a virgin in death, was yet espoused to a workman, He put an end to all the inflated pride of carnal nobility. Inasmuch as He was born, moreover, in the city of Bethlehem, which among all the cities of Judea was so insignificant, that even today it is called a village, He did not want any one to glory in the exaltation of any earthly city. He, likewise, became poor, to Whom all things belong and by Whom all things were created, lest anyone believing in Him should dare to be unduly exalted because of earthly riches. He refused to be made a king by men, because He was showing the way of lowliness to those wretches whom their pride had separated from Him; and yet the whole creation bears witness to His everlasting kingdom. He hungered Who feeds all, He thirsted by Whom all drink is created, He, Who is spiritually

esurientium [29]fonsque sitientium; [30]ab itinere terrestri fatigatus est, [31]qui se ipsum nobis viam fecit in caelum; velut [32]obmutuit et obsurduit coram conviciantibus, [33]per quem mutus locutus est et surdus audivit; vinctus est, qui [34]de infirmitatum vinculis solvit; [35]flagellatus est, qui omnium dolorum flagella de hominum corporibus expulit; crucifixus est, qui cruciatus nostros [35a]finivit; mortuus est, qui mortuos [36]suscitavit. Sed et [37]resurrexit [38]numquam moriturus, [39]ne ab illo quisquam sic disceret mortem contemnere, quasi numquam victurus.

23 (41) Inde confirmatis discipulis, [1]conversatus cum eis quadraginta diebus, [2]eisdem spectantibus adscendit in caelum; et completis a resurrectione quinquaginta diebus [3]misit eis spiritum sanctum (promiserat enim), per quem [4]diffusa caritate in cordibus eorum, non solum [5]sine onere sed etiam [6]cum iucunditate legem possent implere. Quae data est Iudaeis [7]in decem praeceptis, quod appellant decalogum. Quae rursus [8]ad duo rediguntur, ut diligamus deum ex toto corde, ex tota anima, ex tota mente; et diligamus proximum sicut nos ipsos. Nam in his duobus praeceptis totam legem prophetasque pendere ipse dominus et dixit in evangelio et suo manifestavit exemplo. Nam et [9]populus Israel ex die quo primum pascha in imagine celebrarunt, ovem occidentes et manducantes, cuius sanguine postes eorum ad salutis tutelam signati sunt—ex ipso [10]ergo die [10a]quinquagesimus dies impletus est, et legem acceperunt scriptam digito dei, quo nomine iam diximus significari spiritum sanctum; sicut post domini passionem et resurrectionem, quod est [10b]verum pascha, quinquagesimo die ipse spiritus sanctus discipulis missus est, non iam lapideis tabulis corda dura significans; sed [11]cum essent unum in locum congregati in ipsa Ierusalem, [12]factus est subito de caelo sonus, quasi ferretur flatus

both the bread of them that hunger, and the well-spring of them that thirst; He was wearied with earthly journeying Who has made Himself the way to heaven for us; He became as it were one dumb and deaf in the presence of His revilers, through Whom the dumb spoke and the deaf heard; He was bound who has freed men from the bonds of their infirmities; He was scourged Who drove out from men's bodies the scourges of all pains; He was crucified Who put an end to our torments; He died Who raised the dead to life. But He also rose again, never more to die, that none might learn from Him so to despise death as though destined never to live hereafter.

CHAPTER 23.

(41) Then, having strengthened His disciples and having sojourned with them for forty days, He ascended into Heaven in their sight; and when fifty days from His Resurrection had been accomplished He sent to them the Holy Ghost (for so He had promised), that through the love poured forth in their hearts by Him, they might be able to fulfil the law not only without its being a burden but even with delight. Now this law was given to the Jews in ten commandments, which they call the Decalogue. And these again are reduced to two, namely, that we should love God with our whole heart, and with our whole soul, and with our whole mind; and that we should love our neighbor as ourselves. For that on these two commandments depend the whole law and the prophets the Lord Himself has both said in the Gospel and made manifest by His own example. For in the case of the people of Israel likewise, from the day on which they first celebrated the Passover in a figure by killing and eating a sheep, with the blood of which their doorposts were marked to preserve them unharmed—from that day, I say, the fiftieth day was completed when they received the law written by the finger of God, by which name we have already said that the Holy Ghost is typified; as after the passion and resurrection of our Lord, Who is the true Passover, on the fiftieth day the Holy Ghost Himself was sent to the disciples, no longer, however, typifying the hardness of their hearts by tables of stone; but when they were gathered together in one place in Jerusalem itself, suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a

vehemens, et visae sunt illis linguae divisae quasi ignis, et [13]coeperunt linguis loqui, ita ut [14]omnes qui ad illos venerant, suam linguam [15]quisque cognosceret (ad illam enim civitatem ex omni terra conveniebant Iudaei, quacumque dispersi erant, et diversas linguas gentium diversarum didicerant); deinde [16]cum tota fiducia [16a]Christum praedicantes, in eius nomine [17]multa signa faciebant, [18]ita ut quendam mortuum transeunte Petro umbra eius tetigerit, et resurrexerit.

(42) Sed cum viderent Iudaei tanta signa fieri in eius nomine, quem partim [19]per invidiam, partim [19a]per errorem [20]crucifixerunt, alii irritati sunt ad persequendos [21]praedicatores eius apostolos, alii vero id ipsum [22]amplius admirantes, quod in eius nomine, quem veluti a se oppressum et victum riserant, tanta miracula fierent, [23]paenitendo conversi crediderunt in eum millia Iudaeorum. Non [24]erant iam illi temporalia beneficia terrenumque regnum desiderantes a deo, nec promissum regem Christum carnaliter exspectantes; sed [25]immortaliter intelligentes et diligentes eum qui [26]pro ipsis ab ipsis tanta mortaliter pertulit, et eis usque ad sui sanguinis peccata [27]donavit, et immortalitatem a se sperandam et desiderandam exemplo suae resurrectionis ostendit. Itaque iam veteris hominis [28]terrena desideria [29]mortificantes, et spiritalis vitae novitate flagrantes, [30]sicut praeceperat in evangelio dominus, [31]vendebant omnia quae habebant et pretia rerum suarum ante pedes apostolorum ponebant, ut ipsi distribuerent unicuique, sicut cuique opus erat; viventesque in Christiana dilectione concorditer, [32]non dicebant aliquid suum, sed erant illis omnia communia, et anima et cor unum in deum. Deinde etiam ipsi [33]a Iudaeis carnalibus civibus carnis suae persecutionem passi atque dispersi sunt, [34]ut latius Christus eorum dispersione praedicaretur, et imitarentur etiam ipsi patientiam domini sui; quia, qui eos [35]mansuetus passus fuerat, mansuefactos pro se pati iubebat.

(43) Ex ipsis [35a] sanctorum [36]persecutoribus fuerat etiam apostolus Paulus, et [37]in Christianos maxime saeviebat; sed postea [38]cre-

rushing mighty wind, and there appeared to them parted tongues as it were of fire, and they began to speak with tongues, so that all who had come to them recognized each his own tongue (for to that city Jews used to come together from every land, wheresoever they had been scattered, and had learned the divers tongues of divers nations); then preaching Christ with all confidence, they wrought many signs in His name, so that, as Peter was passing by, his shadow touched a certain dead man, and he rose again.

(42) But when the Jews saw that so many signs were wrought in the name of Him Whom, partly through hatred and partly through error, they had crucified, some of them were incited to persecute the apostles who preached Him; but others, marveling the more at the very fact that so many miracles were done in the name of Him Whom they had mocked as crushed and vanquished by themselves, were converted by repentance in thousands and believed in Him. These were no longer in the state of craving from God temporal benefits and an earthly kingdom, and of looking for Christ, the promised King, after the flesh; but now they understood in an immortal sense and loved Him Who in His mortal body endured so much for their sakes and at their hands, and forgave them their sins even to that of shedding His very blood, and by the example of His own resurrection pointed out to them immortality as the object to be hoped for and craved from Him. And so mortifying now the earthly desires of the old man, and burning with the newness of the spiritual life, as the Lord had enjoined in the Gospel, they sold all that they had, and laid the price of their goods before the feet of the apostles, in order that the latter might distribute them to everyone according to his need; and living together in the concord of Christian love, they did not call anything their own, but all things were common to them, and they were one soul and heart towards God. Afterwards they too suffered persecution of their flesh at the hands of the Jews, their fellow-countrymen according to the flesh, and were dispersed abroad, in order that by their dispersion Christ might be more widely preached, and that they might likewise imitate the long-suffering of their Lord; for He who had suffered them in meekness, bade them, when they had been made meek, to suffer for Him.

(43) Of the very persecutors of the saints had been Paul himself, the apostle, and he raged most furiously against the Christians;

dens et apostolus factus, missus est [39]ut gentibus evangelium praedicaret, [40]graviora perpessus pro nomine Christi quam fecerat contra nomen Christi. Ecclesias autem constituens per omnes gentes qua evangelium seminabat, impense praecipiebat ut, quoniam ipsi ex idolorum cultu venientes, et [41]ad unum deum colendum rudes, non facile poterant rebus suis venditis et distributis servire deo, [42]oblationes facerent in pauperes sanctorum, qui erant in ecclesiis Iudaeae quae Christo crediderant; ita [43]illos tamquam [44]milites, illos autem tamquam stipendiarios provinciales apostolica doctrina constituit; inserens eis [45]Christum velut lapidem angularem, sicut per prophetam praenuntiatus erat, [46]in quo ambo quasi parietes de diverso venientes, de Iudaeis videlicet atque gentibus, germana caritate copularentur. Sed postea [47]graviores et crebriores persecutiones ex incredulis gentibus adversus Christi ecclesiam surrexerunt, et implebatur in dies singulos verbum domini praedicentis: [48]*Ecce ego mitto vos velut oves in medio luporum.*

24 (44) Sed [1]illa vitis quae per orbem terrarum, sicut de illa prophetatum et ab ipso domino praenuntiatum erat, fructuosos palmites diffundebat, tanto pullulabat [2]amplius, quanto uberiore [3]martyrum sanguine rigabatur. Quibus [4]per omnes terras innumerabiliter [4a] pro fidei veritate morientibus, etiam [5]ipsa persequentia regna cesserunt et ad Christum cognoscendum atque venerandum fracta [6]superbiae cervice conversa sunt. Oportebat autem, ut eadem vitis, sicut a domino identidem praedictum erat, putaretur et ex ea praeciderentur [7]infructuosa sarmenta, quibus haereses et [8]schismata [9]per loca facta sunt, [10]sub Christi nomine, non ipsius gloriam, sed suam quaerentium per quorum adversitates [11]magis magisque exerceretur ecclesia [12]et probaretur atque illustraretur et doctrina eius et patientia.

(45) Omnia ergo haec, sicut tanto ante praedicta legimus, sic et facta cognoscimus; et quemadmodum primi Christiani, quia non-

but afterwards he believed, and became an apostle, and was sent to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, suffering more grievous things for the cause of Christ than he had committed against the cause of Christ. Moreover, when establishing churches throughout all the nations wherever he sowed the seed of the Gospel, he earnestly exhorted them, that since they themselves, coming from the worship of idols, and uninstructed in the worship of the one true God, could not easily serve God by selling and distributing their goods, they should make offerings for the poor of the saints who were in the churches of Judea which had believed in Christ; so the teaching of the apostle constituted some as soldiers, but others as provincial taxpayers; setting between them Christ as a corner-stone, even as He had been foretold by the prophet, in Whom both classes coming together as walls from different sides, that is to say from the Jews and the Gentiles, might be joined in genuine love. But afterwards more grievous and more frequent persecutions arose from the unbelieving Gentiles against the Church of Christ, and day by day was fulfilled the word that the Lord had foretold: "Behold I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves."

CHAPTER 24.

(44) But the vine which continued to spread abroad its fruitful branches throughout the world, as had been prophesied concerning it, and as had been foretold by the Lord Himself, burgeoned the more richly, as it was the more plenteously watered by the blood of the martyrs. To these, as they died for the true faith in countless numbers throughout all lands, even the very kingdoms that persecuted them yielded, and when their stiff-necked pride had been broken, they were converted to the knowledge and worship of Christ. Yet it was needful that this vine should be pruned, as at sundry times had been foretold by the Lord, and that from it should be lopped the unfruitful branches, by which, under the name of Christ, heresies and schisms were occasioned in various places, on the part of those who sought not His glory but their own, that through their opposition the Church might be more and more tried, and both her teaching elucidated and her longsuffering tested.

(45) All these things, then, we know have come to pass exactly as we read that they were foretold long before. And as the first

dum ista provenisse videbant, miraculis movebantur ut crederent;. sic nos quia omnia ista ita completa sunt, sicut ea in libris legimus, qui longe ante quam haec implerentur conscripti sunt, ubi omnia futura dicebantur, et praesentia iam videntur, aedificamur ad fidem, ut etiam [13]illa quae restant, [14]sustinentes et perseverantes in domino, sine dubitatione ventura credamus, siquidem adhuc [15]tribulationes futurae in eisdem scripturis leguntur, et ipse ultimus iudicii dies, ubi omnes cives ambarum illarum civitatum receptis corporibus surrecturi sunt et rationem vitae suae ante tribunal Christi iudicis reddituri. Veniet enim in [16]claritate potestatis qui prius in humilitate humanitatis venire dignatus est; et omnes pios ab impiis [17]segregabit; non tantum eis qui in eum credere omnino noluerunt, sed etiam eis qui frustra et [18]infructuose crediderunt in eum; [19]illis daturus regnum secum aeternum, illis autem [20]poenam aeternam cum diabolo. Sed sicut nullum gaudium rerum temporalium ex [21]aliqua parte simile potest inveniri gaudio vitae aeternae, quam sancti accepturi sunt; ita nullus cruciatus poenarum temporalium potest sempiternis iniquorum cruciatibus comparari.

25 (46) Itaque, frater, confirma te ipsum in [1]eius nomine atque adiutorio [2]cui credis, adversus linguas eorum qui fidem nostram irrident, de quibus diabolus [3]seductoria verba loquitur, maxime volens irridere fidem resurrectionis. [4]Sed ex te ipso crede futurum te esse cum fueris, quando cum ante non fueris, nunc esse te vides. [5]Ubi enim erat ista moles corporis tui et ista forma membrorumque compago ante paucos annos, priusquam natus, vel etiam priusquam in matris utero conceptus esses? Ubi erat haec moles et haec statura

Christians, because they did not yet see that they had come to pass, were stirred to belief through miracles; so we, because all these things have been fulfilled just as we read of them in the books that were written long before their fulfilment, when all things were spoken of as yet to be, and which are now seen in actual being, so we, I say, are edified unto faith, that, waiting and persevering in the Lord, we believe without hesitation that the things, likewise, which yet remain, shall come to pass, since we read in the same Scriptures of tribulations yet to come, and of the last day of judgment itself when all the citizens of both these cities shall receive again their bodies and rise and shall render an account of their life before the judgment-seat of Christ, the Judge. For He shall come in the splendor of power Who before condescended to come in the lowliness of human nature; and He shall separate all the godly from the ungodly, not only from those who have altogether refused to believe in Him, but also from those who have believed in Him in vain and without fruit. To the righteous He shall give an eternal kingdom with Him, but to the wicked eternal punishment with the devil. But as no joy in temporal things can be found in any measure like to the joy of eternal life which the saints are to receive, so no torment of temporal punishment can be compared to the everlasting torments of the wicked.

CHAPTER 25.

(46) And so, brother, strengthen yourself, in the name and help of Him in Whom you trust, against the tongues of those who mock at our faith, out of whose mouths the devil speaks seductive words, bent, as he is, above all, on making a mockery of our faith in the resurrection. But from your own self receive the assurance that since you have been, so also you will be, since though before you were not, you see that you now are. For where was that mass of your body, and where that form and structure of your members a few years ago, before you were born, or even before you had been conceived in your mother's womb, where was this present mass and stature of your body? Did it not come forth into the light from the hidden recesses of this creation, secretly fashioned by the Lord God, and rise by a regular growth through various stages to its present size and shape? Is it, then, too difficult

corporis tui? Nonne de occultis huius creaturae secretis, domino deo [6]invisibiliter formante, processit in lucem, certisque aetatum incrementis in istam magnitudinem formamque surrexit? [7]Numquid ergo difficile est deo, qui etiam aggeres nubium ex occulto [8]in momento contrahit, et contegit caelum in ictu temporis, reddere istam quantitatem corporis tui sicut erat, qui eam facere potuit sicut non erat? [9]Crede ergo fortiter et [10]inconcusse quia [11]omnia quae videntur quasi pereundo humanis oculis subtrahi, salva et integra sunt omnipotentiae dei; qui ea, cum voluerit, sine ulla mora et difficultate reparabit, ea dumtaxat quae iustitia eius reparanda esse iudicat; [12]ut in his corporibus reddant homines factorum suorum rationem, in quibus ea fecerunt; et in his mereantur aut [12a]commutationem caelestis incorruptionis pro meritis pietatis, aut corruptibilem corporis conditionem pro meritis iniquitatis, non quae morte solvatur, sed [13]quae materiam sempiternis doloribus praebeat.

(47) Fuge ergo [14]per immobilem fidem et mores bonos, fuge, frater, illa tormenta, [15]ubi nec tortores deficiunt, nec torti moriuntur; [16]quibus sine fine mors est, non posse in cruciatibus mori. Et [17]exardesce amore atque desiderio sempiternae vitae sanctorum, ubi [18]nec operosa erit actio, nec requies desidiosa; [19]laus erit dei sine fastidio, sine defectu; nullum in animo taedium, nullus labor in corpore; nulla indigentia, [20]nec tua cui subveniri desideres, nec proximi cui subvenire festines. Omnes [21]deliciae deus erit et satietas sanctae civitatis in illo et de illo sapienter beateque viventis. Efficiemur enim, sicut ab illo promissum speramus et exspectamus, [22]aequales angelis dei, et cum eis pariter illa trinitate perfruemur [23]iam per speciem, in qua nunc per fidem ambulamus. [24]Credimus enim quod non videmus, ut ipsis meritis fidei etiam videre quod credimus et inhaerere mereamur; ut aequalitatem patris et filii et spiritus sancti, et [25]ipsius trinitatis unitatem, quomodo sint haec tria unus deus, non iam verbis fidei et [25a]strepentibus syllabis personemus, sed [26]contemplatione purissima et ardentissima in illo [27]silentio sorbeamus.

a thing for God, Who even in a moment brings together from their hiding places the cloudbanks and overcasts the sky in the twinkling of an eye, to restore that substance of your body as it was before, seeing that He was able to make it as before it was not? Believe, therefore, with a strong and steadfast conviction, that all things that seem to be withdrawn from the eyes of men, as it were, by decay, are safe and sound as regards the omnipotence of God, Who shall restore them without any delay or difficulty, at His pleasure—those of them at least that His justice deems worthy of being restored—in order that men may render an account of their actions in those bodies in which they performed them; and that in them they may merit either change to heavenly incorruptibility as the reward of their godliness, or a corruptible state of body as the reward of their wickedness, a corruptible state of body not to be ended with death, but destined to furnish material for everlasting pains.

(47) Flee, then, by steadfast faith and a good life, flee, brother, those torments in which the tormentors never weary and the tormented never die; to whom it is death without end not to be able to die in their torments. And be on fire with love and longing for the everlasting life of the just where neither shall work be toilsome nor rest slothful; where there shall be praise of God without surfeit and without stint; where there shall be no weariness of mind, no exhaustion of body; where, too, there shall be no want, either on your own part, to make you crave aid, or on your neighbor's, to make you hasten to his aid. God shall be the whole delight and contentment of the holy city living in Him and by Him, in wisdom and blessedness. For we shall be made (as we hope and expect, since it was promised by Him) equal to the angels of God, and in equal measure with them we shall by vision at length have the fruition of that Trinity in which we now walk by faith. For we believe that which we see not, that by the very merits of faith we may be counted worthy even to see what we believe, and therein abide; that we may no longer shout the equality of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and the unity of the Trinity itself, and the manner in which these three are one God, in a profession of faith expressed in babble of words, but may absorb this by most pure and most fervent contemplation in that heavenly silence.

(48) [28]Haec tene fixa in corde tuo, et [29]invoca deum cui credis, ut tueatur te adversus tentationes diaboli; et esto cautus, ne tibi aliunde [30]hostis ille [31]subrepat, qui [32]ad solatium malevolentissimum damnationis suae, cum quibus damnetur inquirit. Non enim per eos solos qui Christianum nomen oderunt, et dolent eo nomine [33]occupatum esse orbem terrarum, et adhuc simulacris et daemoniorum [34]curiositatibus servire desiderant, audet ille tentare Christianos; sed etiam per eos quos paulo ante commemoravimus, de unitate ecclesiae, velut putata vite, [35]praecisos, qui haeretici vel [36]schismatici dicuntur, conatur etiam id quidem interdum. Sed tamen id etiam aliquando conatur et per Iudaeos tentare, atque seducere. Sed maxime cavendum est ne per homines qui sunt in ipsa catholica ecclesia, quos velut paleam usque ad tempus ventilationis suae sustinet, [37]unusquisque tentetur et decipiatur. Propterea enim [38]deus patiens est in illos, ut et suorum [39]electorum fidem atque prudentiam per illorum perversitatem exercendo confirmet; et quia de numero eorum multi [40]proficiunt, et [41]ad placendum deo miserati animas suas magno impetu convertuntur. Non enim omnes sibi [41a]per patientiam dei thesaurizant iram in die irae iusti iudicii eius; sed multos eadem omnipotentis patientia perducit ad saluberrimum paenitentiae dolorem. Quod donec fiat, exercetur per eos illorum qui iam [42]rectam viam tenent non solum tolerantia, sed etiam misericordia. Multos ergo visurus es ebriosos, avaros, fraudatores, aleatores, adulteros, fornicatores, remedia sacrilega sibi alligantes, praecantatoribus et mathematicis vel quarumlibet impiarum artium divinatoribus deditos. [43]Animadversurus etiam quod illae turbae impleant ecclesias [44]per dies festos Christianorum, quae implent et theatra per dies sollemnes [45]paganorum; et haec videndo ad imitandum tentaberis. Et quid dicam, videbis, [46]quod etiam nunc iam utique nosti; [47]non enim nescis multos qui appellantur Christiani, haec omnia [48]mala operari, quae breviter commemoravi. Et aliquando fortasse graviora facere homines non ignoras, quos nosti appellari Christianos. Sed si hoc animo venisti, ut quasi securus talia facias, multum erras; nec tibi proderit nomen

(48) Keep these things fixed in your heart, and call upon God in Whom you trust to guard you against the temptations of the devil; and beware lest that enemy steal upon you from some other quarter, who for the most spiteful solace of his own damnation seeks others to be damned with him. For he makes bold to tempt Christians not only through those who hate the Christian name and who grieve to see the whole world in the possession of that name, and would still fain be in bondage to idols and diabolical superstitions; but also from time to time he endeavors to do so through those of whom we made mention a little while back, men cut off from the unity of the Church, as when a vine is pruned, who are called heretics or schismatics. But yet sometimes he likewise attempts this, to tempt and lead men astray through the Jews. But this should be your greatest care, that no one be tempted and deceived by men who are in the Catholic Church herself, whom she endures as the chaff until the season of her winnowing. For on this account is God longsuffering towards these, both that He may strengthen the faith and wisdom of His own elect by trying it through their frowardness, and because many of their number advance and taking pity on their own souls turn with great earnestness to the pleasing of God. For all do not treasure up to themselves through God's longsuffering wrath against the day of the wrath of His just judgment; but that same longsuffering of the Almighty leads many to the most wholesome sorrow of repentance. But until that comes to pass, not the forbearance only, but also the mercy of those who are already keeping to the right way is schooled through them. Therefore you are like to see many drunkards, covetous, defrauders, gamblers, adulterers, fornicators, wearers of unholy charms, devotees of sorcerers, astrologers or diviners who are skilled in all kinds of ungodly arts. Also you are like to notice that those crowds fill the churches on the feast days of the Christians which likewise fill the theatres on the ritual days of the pagans, and in seeing this you will be tempted to imitate them. Yet why should I say 'you will see' what you, of course, know even now? For you are not unaware that many who have the name of Christians do commit all these evil things that I have briefly mentioned. Neither are you unaware that men whom you know to be called Christians sometimes commit perhaps even graver offenses. But if you have come here with the idea that you

Christi, [49]cum coeperit ille severissime iudicare, qui prius dignatus est misericordissime subvenire. Praedixit enim ista, et ait in evangelio: [50]*Non omnis, qui dicit mihi, domine, domine, intrabit in regnum caelorum, sed is, qui facit voluntatem patris mei. Multi dicent mihi* [51]*in illa die, domine, domine, in nomine tuo manducavimus et bibimus.* Omnibus ergo qui [52]in talibus operibus perseverant, [52a]damnatio finis est. Cum ergo videris multos non solum haec facere, sed etiam defendere atque suadere, [53]tene te ad legem dei, et [54]non sequaris [55]praevaricatores eius. Non enim secundum [56]illorum sensum, sed secundum illius veritatem [57]iudicaberis.

(49) [58]Coniungere bonis, quos vides amare tecum regem tuum. Multos enim inventurus es, si et tu talis esse coeperis. Nam si in spectaculis cum illis esse cupiebas et eis inhaerere, qui tecum vel aurigam, vel venatorem, vel aliquem histrionem simul amabant; quanto magis te delectare debet eorum coniunctio qui tecum amant deum, de quo numquam [59]erubescet amator eius, quia non solum ipse non potest vinci, sed etiam dilectores suos reddet invictos. Nec tamen etiam in ipsis bonis, qui te vel praecedunt [60]vel tibi comitantur ad deum, [61]spem tuam collocare debes, quia nec in te ipso debes, quantumcumque profeceris, sed in illo qui eos et te iustificando tales facit. [62]Securus es enim de deo, quia non mutatur; [63]de homine autem nemo prudenter securus est. Sed si illos qui nondum iusti sunt, amare debemus ut sint, quanto ardentius qui iam sunt, amandi sunt? Sed aliud est diligere hominem, aliud spem ponere in homine; tantumque interest, [64]ut illud deus iubeat, hoc prohibeat. Si autem aliquas vel insultationes vel tribulationes [65]pro nomine Christi passus non defeceris a fide, [66]nec a bona via deviaveris, [67]maiorem mercedem accepturus es; qui autem in his diabolo cesserint, etiam minorem perdunt. Sed humilis esto deo, [68]ut non te permittat tentari [69]ultra vires tuas.

may do such things, as it were with an easy conscience, you are much mistaken, nor will the name of Christ avail you when He begins to judge with utmost severity, Who before deigned to come to your aid with uttermost mercy. For He foretold these things, and says in the Gospel: "Not every one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, in Thy name we have eaten and drunk." For all, then, who persist in such works the end is damnation. When therefore you see many not only doing these things, but also approving them and persuading others to do them, put your trust in the law of God, and do not follow those that transgress it. For not according to their way of thinking, but according to His truth will you be judged.

(49) Associate with the good, whom you see loving your King with you. For you are like to find many such if such you yourself begin to be. For if at the public shows you desired the company and friendship of those who with you loved a charioteer, or a gladiator, or some actor, how much more should you delight in being associated with those who together with you love God, for Whom he that loves Him shall never blush with shame, since not only can He not be conquered Himself, but He shall make those that love Him likewise unconquerable. Nor yet should you place your hope even in the good themselves who either go before you or accompany you on the way to God, since you ought not to place it even in yourself, however much progress you have made, but in Him Who by justifying both them and you makes you such as you are. For of God you are sure, because He changes not; but of man no one can be sure, with wisdom. But if we ought to love those who are not yet righteous, that they may become so, how much more ardently ought they be loved who are so already? But it is one thing to love man, another to put your trust in man; and so great is the difference that God commands the former but forbids the latter. Now if you have suffered any insults or tribulations for the name of Christ and have neither fallen away from the faith nor strayed from the right path, you are destined to receive a greater reward; but those who in these things give way to the devil, lose even the lesser. But humble yourself before God that He may not suffer you to be tempted beyond your strength.

26 (50) His dictis [1]interrogandus est an haec credat atque observare desideret. Quod cum responderit, sollemniter [1a]utique signandus est et ecclesiae more tractandus.

[2]De sacramento sane quod accipit, cum ei bene commendatum fuerit, [3]signacula quidem rerum divinarum esse visibilia, sed res ipsas invisibiles in eis honorari; nec sic habendam esse illam speciem benedictione sanctificatam, quemadmodum habetur in usu quolibet; dicendum etiam [4]quid significet et sermo ille quem audivit, quid in illo condiat, cuius illa res [5]similitudinem gerit. Deinde monendus est ex hac occasione, ut si quid etiam in scripturis audiat quod carnaliter sonet, etiamsi non intelligit, credat tamen spiritale aliquid significari, quod ad sanctos mores futuramque vitam pertineat. Hoc autem ita breviter discit, ut quidquid audierit ex libris canonicis quod ad dilectionem aeternitatis et veritatis et sanctitatis, et ad dilectionem proximi referre non possit, figurate dictum vel gestum esse credat; atque ita conetur intelligere, ut ad illam [5a]geminam referat dilectionem. Ita sane ut proximum non carnaliter intelligat, sed omnem qui cum eo [6]in illa sancta civitate potest esse, sive iam, sive nondum appareat; et ut de nullius hominis correctione desperet, quem patientia dei videt vivere, non ob aliud, sicut apostolus ait, [7]nisi ut adducatur ad paenitentiam.

(51) Si longus tibi videtur iste sermo, quo tamquam praesentem rudem hominem instruxi, licet ea tibi dicere brevius, longiorem tamen esse debere non puto; quamquam multum interest [8]quid res ipsa cum agitur moneat, et [9]quid auditorum praesentia non solum ferre, sed etiam desiderare se ostendat. Cum autem celeritate opus est, vide quam facile explicari tota res possit. Fac rursus adesse aliquem qui velit esse Christianus; ergo et interrogatum, illud quod superior respondisse; quia et si non hoc respondet, hoc eum re-

CHAPTER 26.

(50) After the instruction you should ask him whether he believes these things and desires to observe them. And when he answers that he does, you should of course sign him, with due ceremony, and deal with him in accordance with the custom of the Church.

As to the sacrament of salt which he receives, when it has been well explained to him that the symbols of divine things are, it is true, visible, but that invisible things are therein honored, and that the species (of salt), when sanctified by the words of the blessing, is not to be regarded as it is in every-day use, he should likewise be told what is meant by the form of words which he has heard, and what the seasoning element in it is of which this species of salt is the symbol. Next you should make use of this opportunity to admonish him that if he hears anything even in the Scriptures that has a carnal ring, he should believe, even if he does not understand, that something spiritual is therein signified that has reference to holy living and the life to be. Now this he learns in brief, so that whatsoever he hears from the canonical books that he cannot refer to the love of eternity, and truth, and holiness, and to the love of his neighbor, he may believe to have been said or done with a figurative meaning, and endeavor so to understand as to refer it to that twofold love, provided, of course, that he understand 'neighbor' not in a carnal sense, but understand thereby everyone who can be with him in that holy city, whether he be already there or have not yet appeared; and that he despair not of the amendment of any man whom he sees to be existing through God's forbearance, for no other reason, as the Apostle says, than that he may be led to penance.

(51) If this discourse, in which I have instructed a candidate as if present seems long to you, you may treat the subject more briefly; I do not think, however, that it should be longer. Though much depends upon what the actual case suggests, and upon what the audience present before you show that they not only endure, but even desire. But when speed is required, see how easily the whole thing can be set forth. Suppose again that some one is present who wishes to be a Christian, and that when questioned, he makes the same answer as did the former candidate; for even

spondere debuisse dicendum est. Deinde hoc modo et cetera contexenda.

(52) Vere, frater, illa magna et vera beatitudo est, quae in futuro saeculo sanctis promittitur. [10]Omnia vero visibilia transeunt, et [11]omnis huius saeculi pompa et deliciae et curiositas interibunt, et secum ad [12]interitum trahunt amatores suos. [13]A quo interitu, hoc est, poenis sempiternis deus misericors volens homines liberare, si sibi ipsi non sint inimici et non [14]resistant misericordiae creatoris sui, [15]misit unigenitum filium suum, hoc est, verbum suum aequale sibi, per quod condidit omnia. [16]Et manens quidem in divinitate sua et non recedens a patre [17]nec in aliquo mutatus, assumendo tamen [18]hominem et in carne mortali hominibus apparendo venit ad homines; ut, [19]quemadmodum per unum hominem qui primus factus est, id est Adam, mors intravit in genus humanum, [20]quia consensit mulieri suae seductae a diabolo, ut praeceptum dei transgrederentur, sic per unum hominem, qui etiam deus est dei filius, Iesum Christum, [21]deletis omnibus peccatis praeteritis, credentes in eum omnes [22]in aeternam vitam ingrederentur.

27 (53) [1]Omnia enim quae nunc vides in ecclesia dei et sub Christi nomine per totum orbem terrarum geri, ante saecula iam praedicta sunt, et sicut ea legimus, ita et videmus; et inde aedificamur in fidem. Factum est aliquando diluvium per totam terram, ut peccatores delerentur; et tamen illi qui evaserunt in arca, sacramentum futurae ecclesiae demonstrabant, quae nunc in fluctibus saeculi natat, et per lignum crucis Christi a submersione liberatur. Praedictum est Abrahae fideli servo dei, uni homini, quod de illo esset populus nasciturus, qui coleret unum deum inter ceteras gentes quae idola colebant; et omnia quae illi populo ventura praedicta sunt, sic evenerunt ut praedicta sunt. Prophetatus est in illo populo etiam Christus rex omnium sanctorum et deus venturus ex semine ipsius Abraham secundum carnem quam assumsit, ut omnes

if he does not so answer we may say that he ought to have so answered. Then the remainder must be woven together in the following manner:

(52) Verily, brother, great and true is the blessedness which is promised to the saints in the world to come. Howbeit all visible things pass away, and all the pride of this life and the concupiscence of the flesh and the concupiscence of the eyes shall perish, and they draw their lovers along with them to destruction. God in His mercy, desiring to deliver men from this destruction, that is, from everlasting punishment, if only they be not enemies to themselves and resist not the mercy of their Creator, sent His only-begotten Son, that is, His Word, equal to Himself, by which Word He created all things. And He, though abiding in His Godhead and neither departing from His Father nor being changed in anything, yet by taking upon Him human nature, and appearing to men in mortal flesh, came unto men; that as death entered into the human race by one man who was the first created, that is, Adam, because he consented to his wife, who had been led astray by the devil, so that they transgressed the commandment of God; so through one man Who is also God, the Son of God, Jesus Christ, after their past sins had been utterly blotted out, all who believe in Him might enter into eternal life.

CHAPTER 27.

(53) For all things that you now see happening in the Church of God, and in the name of Christ throughout the whole world, were already foretold ages before. And even as we read them, so also do we see them; and thereby are we edified unto faith. Once a flood took place over the whole earth, that sinners might be destroyed. And yet those who escaped in the ark were a figure of the Church that was to be, which now floats upon the waves of the world, and is saved from sinking by the wood of the cross of Christ. It was foretold to one man, Abraham, a faithful servant of God, that from him should spring a people who should worship the one God, amid the other nations that worshipped idols; and all things that it was foretold should happen to that people came to pass even as they were foretold. Christ also, the King of all saints and God, was prophesied in that people, that He should come of the seed of Abraham himself according to the flesh which He

etiam filii essent Abrahae qui fidem eius imitarentur; et sic est factum; natus est Christus de Maria virgine, quae ex illo genere fuit. Praedictum est per prophetas quod [1a]in cruce [2]passurus esset ab eodem populo Iudaeorum, de cuius genere secundum carnem veniebat; [3]et sic est factum. Praedictum est quod resurrecturus esset; resurrexit, et secundum ipsa praedicta prophetarum [4]adscendit in caelum, et discipulis suis spiritum sanctum misit. Praedictum est non solum a prophetis, sed etiam ab ipso domino Iesu Christo, quod ecclesia eius [5]per universum orbem terrarum esset futura, per [6]sanctorum [7]martyria passionesque disseminata; et tunc praedictum, [8]quando adhuc nomen eius et latebat gentes, et ubi notum erat irridebatur: et tamen [9]in virtutibus miraculorum eius, sive quae per se ipse, sive quae per servos suos fecit, dum annuntiantur haec et creduntur, iam videmus quod praedictum est esse completum, regesque ipsos terrae, qui antea persequebantur Christianos, iam Christi nomini subiugatos. Praedictum est etiam quod [10]schismata et haereses ex eius ecclesia essent exiturae, et sub eius nomine [11]per loca ubi possent, suam, non Christi, gloriam quaesiturae; et ista completa sunt.

(54) [12]Numquid ergo illa quae restant non sunt ventura? [13]Manifestum est quia [14]sicut ista praedicta venerunt, sic etiam illa ventura sunt, quaecumque tribulationes iustorum adhuc restant; et iudicii dies, qui separabit omnes impios a iustis in resurrectione mortuorum; et non solum eos qui sunt extra ecclesiam, sed etiam [15]ipsius ecclesiae paleas, quas oportet usque ad novissimam ventilationem patientissime sufferat, ad ignem debitum segregabit. Qui autem irrident resurrectionem putantes quod caro ista quia putrescit, resurgere non potest, ad poenas in ea resurrecturi sunt; et ostendet eis deus quia qui potuit haec corpora facere antequam essent, potest ea [15a]in momento restituere sicut erant. Omnes autem fideles [16]regnaturi cum Christo, ita resurgent [17]in eodem corpore, ut etiam commutari mereantur ad incorruptionem [18]angelicam; ut fiant [18a]aequales angelis dei, sicut dominus ipse promisit, et laudent eum [19]sine aliquo defectu et sine aliquo fastidio semper viventes

took upon Him, that all those also might be sons of Abraham who imitated his faith; and so it came to pass; Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, who was of that race. It was foretold by the prophets that He should suffer upon the cross at the hands of that same people, the Jews, of whose race according to the flesh He came; and so it came to pass. It was foretold that He should rise again; He rose again: and according to the very predictions of the prophets, He ascended into heaven and sent the Holy Ghost to His disciples. It was foretold not only by the prophets but also by the Lord Jesus Christ Himself that His Church should be found throughout the whole world, being sown broadcast by the martyrdoms and sufferings of the saints; and this was foretold at a time when as yet His name was unknown to the nations and where it was known, was mocked; and nevertheless, by His miracles (whether those He wrought in His own person, or those He wrought through His servants), while these are noised abroad and believed, we already see that what was predicted has been fulfilled, and that the very kings of the earth, who formerly persecuted the Christians, are now made subject unto the name of Christ. It was likewise foretold that schisms and heresies should issue out of His Church, and under His name, wherever they might, should seek their own glory, not Christ's; and this too has been fulfilled.

(54) Shall not then those things that remain come to pass? It is evident that even as the former things that were foretold came to pass, so also shall the others, whatever tribulations of the righteous yet remain, and the day of judgment which shall separate all the wicked from the righteous in the resurrection of the dead, and shall set apart for the fire which is their due not only those without the Church, but also the chaff of the Church herself, which she must bear with utmost patience until the final winnowing. But those who laugh to scorn the resurrection, thinking that because this flesh rots it cannot rise again, are destined therein to rise again unto punishment; and God shall show them that He Who was able to make these bodies before they were, can in a moment restore them as they were. But all the faithful who are to reign with Christ shall rise again in the same body in such wise as to merit being changed to angelic incorruption; so that they may be made equal to the angels of God, even as the Lord Himself promised, and may praise Him without any stint and without

[20]in illo et de illo, cum tali gaudio et beatitudine, [21]quali nec dici nec cogitari ab homine potest.

(55) Tu itaque credens ista, cave tentationes; [22]quia diabolus quaerit, qui secum pereant), [23]ut non solum per eos qui extra ecclesiam sunt, sive pagani, sive Iudaei, sive haeretici, non te hostis ille seducat, sed etiam quos in ipsa ecclesia catholica videris male viventes, aut immoderatos [24]voluptatibus ventris et gutturis, aut impudicos, aut vanis curiositatibus vel illicitis deditos, sive spectaculorum, sive remediorum aut divinationum diabolicarum, sive in pompa et typho avaritiae atque superbiae, sive [25]in aliqua vita quam lex damnat et punit, [26]non eos imiteris, sed potius coniungaris bonis [27]quos inventurus es facile, si et tu talis fueris; ut simul [28]colatis et diligatis deum gratis; quia [29]totum praemium nostrum ipse erit, ut in illa vita bonitate eius et pulchritudine perfruamur. Sed amandus est, non sicut aliquid quod videtur oculis, sed sicut amatur sapientia, [30]et veritas et sanctitas et iustitia et caritas, et si quid aliud tale dicitur; [31]non quemadmodum sunt ista in hominibus, sed quemadmodum sunt [32]in ipso fonte incorruptibilis et incommutabilis sapientiae. Quoscunque ergo videris haec amare, illis coniungere, ut per Christum qui homo factus est, ut esset [32a]mediator dei et hominum, reconcilieris deo. Homines autem perversos, [33]etiamsi intrent parietes ecclesiae, [34]non eos arbitreris intraturos in regnum caelorum; quia suo tempore separabuntur, si se [35]in melius non commutaverint. [36]Homines ergo bonos imitare, malos tolera, omnes ama; [37]quoniam nescis quid cras futurus sit qui hodie malus est. [38]Nec eorum ames iniustitiam, sed ipsos ideo ama, [39]ut apprehendant iustitiam; quia non solum dilectio dei nobis praecepta est, sed etiam dilectio proximi, in quibus duobus praeceptis [40]tota lex pendet et prophetae. Quam non implet, nisi qui [41]donum acceperit spiritum sanctum, patri et filio utique aequalem; quia ipsa trinitas [41a]deus est, in quo deo spes omnis ponenda est. In homine non est ponenda, qualiscumque ille fuerit. Aliud est enim ille a quo iustificamur, aliud illi cum quibus iustificamur. Non autem solum per cupiditates diabolus tentat, sed etiam [42]per

satiety, ever living in Him and of Him, with such joy and blessedness as are beyond both the words and thoughts of men.

(55) Do you, therefore, since you believe this, be on your guard against temptations (for the devil seeks some to perish with him), so that not only may that enemy fail to seduce you through those who are without the Church, whether pagans or Jews or heretics; but also that you may not imitate those in the Catholic Church herself whom you see leading evil lives, either those who indulge without restraint in the pleasures of the belly and the palate, or the unchaste, or those given to vain or unlawful practices, or of shows or of diabolical charms and divinations, or those who live in the pomp and vanity of covetousness and pride, or who lead any life that the Decalogue condemns and punishes; but may rather associate with the good, whom you will easily find, if you also are such yourself; so that together with them you may worship and love God for His own sake, for He Himself shall be our whole reward, that we may have the fruition of His goodness and loveliness in that blessed life. But He is to be loved not as anything that is seen by the eyes, but as wisdom is loved, and truth and holiness and righteousness and charity, and any other such virtues: not as these are found among men, but as they are in the very fount of incorruptible and unchangeable wisdom. Whomsoever therefore you see loving these virtues, to them be joined, that through Christ Who became man that He might be the Mediator between God and man, you may be reconciled to God. But do not think that the perverse, even though they enter the walls of a church, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; for in the time appointed for them they shall be separated, if they amend not. Imitate, then, the good, bear with the evil, love all; for you do not know what he shall be tomorrow who today is evil. And do not love their unrighteousness; but love them to the end that they may attain to righteousness; for not only is love of God enjoined upon us, but likewise love of our neighbor, and on these two commandments depend the whole law and the prophets. And no one fulfills this law but him who receives the gift (of God), the Holy Spirit, Who is, in very truth, equal to the Father and the Son; for the Trinity itself is God, and in this God must all our hope be placed. In a man it must not be placed, whatsoever he be. For He by Whom we are justified is quite distinct from those with whom we are justified. But

terrores insultationum et dolorum et ipsius mortis. [43]Quidquid autem homo passus fuerit pro nomine Christi, et pro spe vitae aeternae, et permanens toleraverit, maior ei merces [44]dabitur; [45]quod si cesserit diabolo cum illo damnabitur. Sed [46]opera misericordiae cum pia humilitate impetrant a domino, [47]ut non permittat servos suos tentari plus quam possunt sustinere.

not only through inordinate desires does the devil tempt us, but also through dread of insults and sufferings and of death itself. Now, if a man suffers anything for the name of Christ and for the hope of eternal life, and endures it steadfastly, a greater reward shall be given him; but if he yields to the devil, with him shall he be condemned. But works of mercy together with godly humility obtain this from the Lord, that He suffers not His servants to be tempted above that which they are able to bear.

COMMENTARY

Chapters 1–15. The Theory of Catechesis

CHAPTER 1

Sections (1), (2). *St. Augustine writes in answer to Deogratias, a deacon of Carthage, who has asked what should be the subject-matter and what the method in catechizing candidates.*

1. **petisti me:** the *Confessiones* and the *De Civitate Dei* of Augustine were likewise written at the suggestion of friends. Cf. Aug. *Conf.* 10, 4, 3, *multi hoc nosse cupiunt*; also the letter of Marcellinus to Augustine (*Ep.* 136) and the latter's reply (*Ep.* 138, 4, 18). In fact, most of Augustine's works were occasional, arising in response to some specific need. For a very interesting account of the psychological starting-points of his principal works, cf. Bernard Legewie, *Augustinus, eine Psycographie* (Bonn, 1925). For the form of introduction, cf. Tac. *Dial.* 1, 1, *Saepe ex me requiris, Iuste Fabi.* . . . In his notice of this book in the *Retractationes* 2, 14, he gives its full title and quotes the opening words: *Est etiam liber unus de catechizandis rudibus hoc ipso titulo praenotatus . . . Hic liber sic incipit: Petisti me, frater Deogratias.*

2. **frater:** a term of affection in classical Latin which was applied by the early Christians to fellow-believers who were united to one another by the bonds of affection, all Christians being brothers in the new life. Cf. 1 Cor. 16, 20, *salutant vos omnes fratres;* 1 Ioan. 2, 9, *qui dicit se in luce esse, et fratrem suum odit, in tenebris est usque adhuc;* cf. Tert. *Apol.* 39, *at quanto dignius fratres et dicuntur et habentur qui unum patrem deum agnoverunt, qui unum spiritum biberint sanctitatis, qui de uno utero ignorantiae eiusdem ad unam lucem expaverint veritatis;* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II, c. 9, 41, ἢ καὶ ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ ἀναγεννηθέντας προσαγορεύομεν; Min. Fel.*Oct.* 9, *passim etiam inter eos quaedam libidinum religio miscetur ac se promisce appellant fratres et sorores;* Hier. *Adv. Helvid.* 15, *affectu fratres dici, qui in duo scinditur, in spiritale et in commune; in spiritale, quia omnes Christiani fratres vocamur;* Aug. *De Serm. Domini in Monte* 1, 73, *fratres Christianos significare, multis divinarum scripturarum documentis pro-*

bari potest. For exhaustive citations, cf. Mayor's note on Tert. *Apol.* 39, *fratres;* Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums* (Leipzig, 1906), 2, 1, 405. It may be noted here that both St. Augustine and St. Optatus insisted on calling the Donatists *fratres,* though sinners and schismatics. The Donatists, however, refused to reciprocate. Cf. Aug. *Gesta Collationis Carthag. diei III,* 243, *quotidie enim quibusdam non nobiscum in una ecclesia, nec in iisdem sacramentis constitutis, dicimus, Frater. Sodomitis etiam dixit Loth, Fratres, non ad cognitam fraternitatem, quasi unius haereditate consortium;* cf. Aug. *Cont. Gaudent.* 3; *Cont. Parm.* 3, 2; cf. S. Optat. Milev. Lib. 7, 2, 3, *sed ne quis dicat inconsiderate me eos fratres appellare . . . quamvis et illi non negent et omnibus notum sit, quod nos odio habeant et execrentur et nolint se dici fratres nostros, tamen nos recedere a timore dei non possumus;* ibid. 4, 1; 4, 2.

3. **Deogratias:** the Benedictine editors suggest that this deacon may be identical with the priest Deogratias, to whom Augustine wrote in 406 A. D. (cf. *Ep.* 102) in answer to questions sent him from pagans in Carthage. Such compound names as *Deogratias, Adeodatus, Deusdedit, Quodvultdeus,* were common in Africa. Glover, 199, observes that such names were apparently translations of Semitic names like Mattathiah (='gift of Jehovah'); Nathanael (='God gave'). A parallel in English is offered by such names as Praise-God Barebones, used by the Puritans in the seventeenth century.

4. **ut aliquid ad te . . . scriberem:** in classical Latin *ad aliquem scribere* meant 'to write a work dedicated to some one.' Cf. Reid's note on *De Sen.* 1, *aliquid ad te.* The deacon's request here was of course much more modest; he simply wanted Augustine to set down in writing and send him something on the method of catechizing. It was fortunate that Deogratias applied to Augustine, for quite apart from the latter's reputation as a theologian and writer, no ecclesiastic in Africa had had his experience with the various methods of catechizing. Augustine was familiar not only with the methods employed in Africa; he had likewise attended catechetical lectures both at Rome and at Milan. It may be observed here that there is a tendency among early Christian writers to omit the accusative after *scribere,* though the missing word (*volumen, librum,* or *epistulam*) has not infrequently been inter-

polated later. Cf. Hier. *De Viris illustr.* 66, *scripsit ad Fabianum* = *scripsit epistulam ad Fabianum.* Cf. Dom John Chapman, *St. Jerome and the Vulgate New Testament,* in *J. Th. S.* 24 (1923), 288.

5. **catechizandis:** the verb *catechizare* is derived from κατηχεῖν = 'to teach,' 'to inform by word of mouth.' The simple verb ἠχεῖν = 'to sound' (trans. and intrans.), 'to ring out,' is found in Hesiod, Herodotus, and Euripides. The compound verb κατηχεῖν, which is composed of κατά intensive and ἠχεῖν, retained its root meaning 'to sound down,' but was applied to the act of informing and instructing by oral repetition; the idea being that children in school were instructed by making them 'sing out' in chorus the answers to the questions asked by the teacher. κατηχεῖν in this meaning of 'to instruct,' 'to inform by word of mouth,' occurs first in Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 198 (30). In the New Testament it is found in this meaning, for example, in Luc. 1, 4; Act. 18, 25; Gal. 6, 6; among later writers, in Diogenes Laertius, Porphyrio, etc. The first Latin writer to use *catechizare* in the meaning of 'to instruct orally' in the Christian faith, was Tertullian. Tert. *De Cor. Mil.* 9, *quem Petrus catechizat.* The word *catechismus* is first found in Augustine, *De Fide et Operibus,* 13.

6. **rudibus:** ecclesiastical writers apply the term *rudis* to candidates for admission to the catechumenate. It has no reference to the intellectual attainments and qualifications of the candidate. The *rudis* may be a rustic or he may be an educated man (cf. Ch. 8, S. 13 where, for example, Augustine speaks of educated men who are well up on the doctrines of faith, but who have not yet been admitted to the catechumenate). Eggersdorfer, 175, writes, *Unter "rudis" verstand das kirchliche Altertum nicht den Ungebildeten, auch nicht gerade "den Unwissenden in der Religion," wie Erzbischof Gruber (Katechetische Vorlesungen über des hl. Augustin Buch: Von der Unterweisung der Unwissenden in der Religion,* Salzburg, 1828, 1829) *übersetzte, sondern den Anfänger im Katechumenate. . . . Der Stand der Kenntnisse kam also für das Wesen der Katechese nicht in Betracht, für die Methode wohl.* Eberhard in *Augustins Schrift De Catechizandis Rudibus* in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 17 (1906), 240, writes, *"Augustin aber hat nach dem Titel seiner Schrift solche im Auge, die noch keiner dieser Hauptklassen angehörten, die erst der Erlangung der ersten*

Katechumenenstufe entgegengingen. Ein solcher war ein rudis, ein Ignorant in sacris, mochte er nach seinem weltlichen Bildungsstandpunkte eine noch so hohe Stufe einnehmen." For the phrase, cf. Ambr. in Ps. 118, *rudis adhuc in fide;* Cypr. Ep. 70, *qui ad ecclesiam rudis venit.* Koffmane 1, 29, is of the opinion that the term *rudis* was of more frequent occurrence in Africa.

7. **dixisti enim quod . . . adducuntur:** the use of *quod* after verbs of thinking and saying is indigenous to Latin colloquial speech, the infinitive with subject accusative construction being a highly artificial device of the literary style. On the use of *quod, quia,* and *quoniam* after verbs of thinking and saying, cf. Mayen; Dokkum; Dräger, 2, 2, 379; Goelzer, 373; Löfstedt, 120; Salonius, 120. Cf. H. W. Garrod's note on *quod* in *Manili Astronomicon,* 2, 20, p. 66. Of the three particles *quod* occurs most frequently in this treatise, being found 13 times. *Quia* occurs 5 times, and *quoniam* not at all. *Quomodo* occurs twice. These figures agree with the data compiled by Souter in *Novum Testamentum S. Irenaei* CXI, where he shows that in select early works of Augustine *quod* occurs 9 times, *quia* and *quoniam* not at all. In select later works *quod* occurs 284 times, *quia* 51 times, and *quoniam* 12 times. Souter, *op. cit.,* CX, ascribes the increase in the use of *quia* and *quoniam* to the influence of the Scriptures, in which *quia* and *quoniam* appear as the regular translations of ὅτι. This is borne out by the fact that contemporary pagan writers, while using the *quod* construction occasionally, very rarely use *quia* and *quoniam.* Cf. Salonius, 320. I have tried to discover differences in the use of the indicative and subjunctive moods after *quod, quia,* and *quoniam,* but though *quod* occurs 4 times with the indicative and 9 times with the subjunctive, *quia* 5 times with the indicative, these particles seem to be used interchangeably in this treatise. Though this treatise does not furnish sufficient data to make a thorough study of the differences in the use of the indicative and subjunctive moods after *quod, quia,* and *quoniam,* still it would seem that after the present and present perfect tenses Augustine prefers the indicative; after the future, the subjunctive; and after past tenses, when reference is to future time, the subjunctive—usually in its periphrastic form. On the seemingly indiscriminate use of the indicative and subjunctive after *quod, quia,* and *quoniam,* cf. A. S. Pease, *Notes on St. Jerome's Tractates*

on the Psalms, in *J. B. L.* 26, Part 2 (1907), p. 114; Salonius, 303; Löfstedt, 116; S. S. 539, 299. Tenney Frank, *Latin quantitative Speech,* in *A. J. P.* 45, 2 (1924), 161, shows that the movement toward an analytical structure, new uses of prepositions and other phenomena of p. c. Latin is not a development or continuation of the *sermo vulgaris* as found for instance in Plautine comedy, but springs from Greek, Teutonic, and Oriental immigration.

8. **apud Carthaginem:** = *Carthagine.* The preposition *apud* is frequently used by p. c. writers instead of the ablative or the locative. Cf. S. S. 112. Carthage was the primatial see of Northern Africa. The expression *apud Carthaginem* would lead us to infer that this treatise was composed at Hippo, Augustine's episcopal see, which belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Numidia. For the history of the diocese of Hippo Regius, cf. Holmes.

8ª. **diaconus:** (διάκονος) p. c. as used here in its ecclesiastical meaning of one of the major ecclesiastical orders; cf. 1 Tim. 3, 12, *diaconi sint unius uxoris viri.* The form *diaco* likewise occurs; cf. Phil. 1, 1, *cum episcopis, et diaconibus.* In the early Church a man frequently remained a deacon for years, or for all his life, whereas today the diaconate is simply the last stage before priesthood.

9. **imbuendi sunt:** = *imbuentur.* From the third century on the gerundive was used as a future passive participle without any special idea of necessity or obligation; whereas in classical Latin the gerundive denotes necessity or fitness, not possibility. It is to be noted that the grammarian Priscian 2, 567, 7 explains the gerundive *amandus* as being the equivalent of both φιληθησόμενος and φιλητέος. As a result, the passive periphrastic conjugation, present or future tense, was used to designate simple futurity; for example, instead of *imbuetur* we find *imbuendus est* or *imbuendus erit,* likewise the present infinitive of the passive periphrastic *imbuendus esse* takes the place of the future infinitive passive *imbutum iri* (cf. Act. 28, 6, *at illi existimabant eum in tumorem convertendum et subito casurum et mori*). Cf. Madvig, 420, obs. and his note on Cic. *De Finibus* 1, 2, 6; cf. J. S. Reid's note on Cic. *De Fin.* 1, 4, *legendi sunt;* Kühner-Stegmann 2, 1, 2, 733; Goelzer, 386; Rönsch, 433, Linderbauer, 163. This confusion

in the use of the gerundive is due to the fact that the notions of futurity and necessity or obligation are very closely connected. We have a similar construction in English, 'is to be,' which may have three meanings: 'Carthage is to be destroyed,' where it implies necessity (*Carthago delenda est*); 'the king is not to be persuaded,' where it implies possibility (*regi persuaderi non potest*); and 'Cicero is to be read today,' where it implies simple futurity (*Cicero hodie legetur*). Cf. Ogilvie-Souter, 148. The verb *imbuere* meant originally 'to cause to drink in for the first time,' hence 'to impart a first tincture, a smattering, of knowledge.' Its meaning here, therefore, is quite different from our English 'imbue.' Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 7, 14, *an tu dialecticis ne imbutus quidem es;* Tac. *Dial.* 19 *etsi non instructus, at certe imbutus sit;* Orbilius apud Sueton. *Gram.* 4 *non perfectum sed imbutum litteris.* Cf., however, Reid's note on Cic. *Pro Mil.* 3, 10, *imbuti,* in which he observes that *imbutus* often implies a thorough knowledge. See also Wilkins' note on Cic. *De Orat.* 2, 162. For its use in Aug. in the meaning of 'to be given elementary instruction,' cf. *Conf.* 8, 2, 20, *ubi autem imbutus es primis instructionis sacramentis.* (Colson, in his note on Quint. *Inst. orat.* 1, 8, *et optimis imbuatur,* observes that *imbuere* is regularly used by Quintilian in the meaning of 'first impressions.' Augustine would seem to have followed Quintilian closely in his use of this verb.) Though only candidates for admission to the catechumenate, the *accedentes* were called Christians. Cf. Probst, *Katechese und Predigt,* 44.

10. **eo quod existimeris:** in p. c. Latin *eo quod* is followed by either the indicative or the subjunctive without any apparent distinction in their use. In Ch. 2, S. 3 we find *eo quod . . . visus es.* Cf. Kaulen, 297.

10ª. **catechizandi uberem facultatem:** the office of catechizing the *rudes* was sometimes performed by the bishop himself (cf. Ambr. *Ep.* 33, *post lectiones atque tractatum, dimissis catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam basilicae*), but in most cases priests and deacons were the catechists (cf. Chrysost. *Hom.* 21 *ad Popul. Antiochen.*). It must be noted however that, though laymen and those in inferior orders sometimes catechized, they were never permitted to do so in the church, but only in private dwellings or in catechetical schools, which frequently ad-

joined the church (cf. Leo, Novel 73, *in ecclesiarum caenaculis quae promiscuum vulgus κατηχούμενα vocare solet.*)

11. **et doctrina fidei et suavitate sermonis:** *fides* in the Old Testament is used in its classical meaning of 'trustworthiness,' 'conviction,' 'confidence,' 'reliance'; cf. *Ps.* 32, 4, *omnia opera eius in fide.* Now Christian writers had no exact equivalent to the active meaning of πίστις, for the substantive *credulitas,* derived from the adjective *credulus,* was used only in a bad sense. They, accordingly, hit upon the word *fides,* as being the closest equivalent to the active meaning of πίστις, to designate the supernatural virtue of Faith; (cf. Matth. 9, 22, *fides tua te salvam fecit.* From this there was but a slight step to *fides* in its objective meaning of that which is believed: the Gospel, the whole Christian religion; (cf. Act. 6, 7, *turba sacerdotum obediebat fidei*). For the expression *suavitate sermonis,* cf. Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* 4, 6, *cuius in sermone et suavitate;* Aug. *Conf.* 5, 13, 23, *delectabar sermonis suavitate.*

12. **intimandum:** *intimare* (*intimus* + *are*) = *docere, indicare, notum facere,* is p. c. Cf. Amm. *Hist.* 28, *haec vita Gallieni fuit breviter a me litteris intimata.* The formation of new verbs of the first conjugation from the superlatives of adjectives is a feature of late Latin mostly confined to African writers. *Intimare* is the one in most common use; other such verbs are, *infimare, ultimare, summare, extremare, minimare, maximare.* For an exhaustive study of these verbal formations, cf. Wölfflin, *Die Verba desuperlativa,* in *Archiv* 2 (1885), 355; also *Intimare,* ibid. 13 (1904), 177.

13. **narratio:** the five classical divisions of an oration were the *exordium, narratio, probatio, refutatio* and *peroratio.* Cicero defines *narratio* in *De Inv.* 1, 19, 27, *narratio est rerum gestarum, aut ut gestarum expositio.* The rhetorical term *narratio* must have been applied long before Augustine's time to the historical exposition at the beginning of the catechetical instruction, otherwise Deogratias would hardly have used the term when writing or speaking to Augustine, and Augustine in turn would hardly have used it here without a word of explanation. Deogratias was the first, so far as we know definitely, to apply this term to the historical exposition at the outset of the catechetical instruction; while Augustine was the first to see the adaptability of this rhetorical

term; he welcomed the deacon's use of the word, seized upon it, and gave to it the comprehensive meaning which it has in this treatise. Zezschwitz in his *Handbuch d. th. Wsch.* 4, 125 writes: *Ein Triumph des frühen kirchlichen Methodenverständnisses, dass in der ersten Anweisung zu lehrhaft katechetischem Verfahren, die wir besitzen, ein Augustin schon die narratio prinzipiell als grundlegende Methode kirchlich-christlichen Unterrichts proklamierte.*

14. **exhortationem . . . adhibere debeamus:** it is evident from the deacon's query that it was still an open question, at least in Africa, as to whether or not there should be an *exhortatio* after the *narratio.* Augustine decides in the affirmative. Cf. Ch. 2, N. 35. The *exhortatio* was the practical application of the *narratio.*

15. **praecepta:** as early as 305, Augustine had shown in *Serm.* 9, c. 7 and 13 that he regarded the Decalogue as the norm of Christian morality. It is just possible that the deacon Deogratias was acquainted with this view of Augustine's and had accepted it. On the other hand it may be that by *praecepta* Deogratias understood the 'two-way' theory of morality which was still followed in catechetical works. (Cf. Introd. III, Contribution to Catechetics.) However, though it is not clear whether by *praecepta* Deogratias means the Decalogue or the moral law in general, there is no doubt that when Augustine uses the term *praecepta* he is referring to the Decalogue. Cf. for example Ch. 23, S. 41, where he plainly says, *quae data est Iudaeis in decem praeceptis, quod appellant decalogum.* Cf. Rentschka, 103.

16. **professionem:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'profession,' or 'confession of faith.' Souter, in *A Study of Ambrosiaster,* 128, observes that *professio,* as a Christian term, is ignored by the dictionaries. The meaning of *professio,* that is, the profession of faith as distinguished from its practice, is well brought out by the following quotations from *Ambrosiaster,* 108, (col. 2323) *ut . . . alterius essent et professionis et conversationis;* ibid. 69, *A, qui non solum bonae professionis sunt sed et vitae;* ibid. 111 (col. 2333) *ut professionem sine bona vita non valde proficere ostenderet.*

17. **confessus atque conquestus es:** figure of paronomasia.

Note the difference in the Latin and English idiom, 'you have had to acknowledge and lament.' On this phraseological use of 'must' and 'have to' with certain verbs (*miror, fateor, confiteor, doleo,* etc.) where Latin employs a simple indicative, cf. Nägelsbach-Müller, 430; Ph. Thielmann, *Habere mit dem Infinitiv,* etc., in *Archiv* 2 (1885), 68. Augustine is fond of coupling synonyms after the manner of Cicero. Other examples occurring in this treatise are, for example, Ch. 3, S. 5 *summatim generatimque;* Ch. 3, S. 5, *movendus . . . dirigendus;* cf. Ch. 3, S. 6 *adiunctis atque annumeratis;* Ch. 3, S. 6 *constricta atque conclusa;* Ch. 5, S. 9 *approbantes atque laudantes;* Ch. 10, S. 14 *paratum et iustructum;* Ch. 12, S. 17 *cogitamus et consideramus;* Ch. 13, S. 19 *mirandum et stupendum;* Ch. 19, S. 33 *coniuncta atque compacta.*

18. **tibi ipse vilesceres essesque fastidio:** *vilescere* is a favorite verb with Augustine. **fastidio:** a common predicative dative both in classical and p. c. Latin. Cf. Roby, Vol. I, 37, xxxvii, Note Augustine's keen psychological analysis of this difficulty.

19. **audientes:** the substantive use of the present participle in classical Latin is confined, for the most part, to the oblique cases; in p. c. Latin this use is frequently extended to the nominative case. Cf. Madvig, 425.

20. **fuisse compulsum, ut ea me quam tibi debeo caritate compelleres:** *fuisse compulsum = esse compulsum.* The usage of forming the perfect system in the passive with some form of *fui* instead of *sum* is found even in classical Latin; in p. c. Latin, it has become almost the rule. Cf. N. W. 3, 135; cf. also Manu Leumann, *Part. per. pass. mit fui im späteren Latein* in *Glotta* 11 (121), 192. **ut ea me quam tibi debeo caritate:** figure of hyperbaton.

21. **ne gravarer . . . aliquid scribere:** = *ne gravarer . . . quicquam scribere.* In classical Latin the pronoun *quisquam* and the indefinite adjective *ullus* are used in negative propositions, in questions with the force of a negation, and with *sine.* In p. c. Latin, particularly in Biblical Latin, *aliquis* and sometimes *quisque* take the place of *quisquam* and *ullus* in these negative propositions. Cf. S. S. 624, 22. **gravarer:** for its exact shade of meaning here, cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 1, 35, 164 *rogo ut . . . ne graveris exaedificare id opus.*

22. **occupationes:** for the multiplicity of a bishop's duties and engagements in those days, cf. Augustine's description of St. Ambrose as Bishop of Milan: *Conf.* 7, 33, *non enim quaerere ab eo poteram quod volebam, sicut volebam, secludentibus me ab eius aure atque ore catervis negotiosorum hominum, quorum infirmitatibus serviebat.* W. J. Sparrow-Simpson, 301, writes "After his consecration he had constantly to act as an unconventional magistrate. Citizens of Hippo brought all sorts of secular matters before him for decision: matters of business and matters of property, financial questions, farm and flocks, occupied precious hours and even days, and distracted him from spiritual considerations." Cf. Possidius, *Vita,* 19, 20; *Enarr. in Ps.* 118; *Serm.* 24; *Ep.* 33, 5. In *Ep.* 110, 5, he writes, *sed, mi frater, et tu credo quod noveris quanta sint in manibus meis, quibus ob diversas causas quas nostrae servitutis necessitas habet, vix mihi paucissimae guttae temporis stillantur, quas aliis rebus si impendero, contra officium meum mihi facere videor.* Augustine's conception of the duties of a bishop is well summed up in the following striking sentence from the *De Civitate Dei* 19, 19, *intelligat se non esse episcopum, qui praeesse dilexerit, non prodesse.* This treatise, moreover, was written in the period of his greatest literary activity (400-405).

23. **matri ecclesiae:** for the phrase, cf. Tert. *De Orat.* 2, *mater ecclesia;* id. *Adv. Martyras,* 1, *domina mater ecclesia;* id. *De Anim.* 43, *vera mater viventium, ecclesia;* Cypr. *De Unit. Eccl.* 6, *habere iam non potest deum patrem qui ecclesiam non habet matrem;* id. *Ep.* 9, 3, *mater nostra ecclesia;* Ambr. *Hex.* 6, 13, *matri dedit ecclesiae nutriendos;* Aug. *Serm.* 217, 6, *ecce uterus matris ecclesiae;* id. *Expositio Ev. Luc.* 5, 92, *fleat pro te mater ecclesia;* Chrysost. *adv. Iudaeos* 1, 8, ἡ μήτηρ ἡμῶν ἡ κοινὴ. Other designations of the Church among the Church Fathers are *sponsa, columba, virgo.* **ecclesiae:** here used in its p. c. meaning of 'the Church.' Cf. Matth. 18, 18, *dic Ecclesiae;* cf. Hier. *Ep.* 123, 6.

24. **universaliter:** p. c. Cf. Gaius, *Dig.* 18, 1, 35, *si grex universaliter venierit.*

25. **per operam meam:** = *operâ meâ.* Cf. Cic. *De Sen.* 4, 11, *meâ operâ, Q. Fabi, Tarentum recepisti.* In classical Latin *a* or *ab* is used before a principal agent, *per,* before a secondary agent or instrument: cf. Cic. *Pro Rosc. A.* 27, 79, *aut ipsum sua manu*

fecisse . . . aut per aliquos liberos. However, even in the classical period there was a tendency to substitute *per* for *a* or *ab* before a principal agent. For example, Quintus Metellus Celer in a letter to Cicero (*Ad Fam.* 5, 11) writes, *fratrem per te oppugnatum iri,* which use of the preposition *per* Cicero corrects in *Ad Fam.* 5, 2, 6, to: *fratrem tuum a me oppugnari.* In p. c. Latin the nice use of these prepositions was disregarded, *per* being employed both as a principal and secondary agent or instrument, particularly with the passive voice. Cf. the use of the preposition *per* in Italian; Bonnet, 586; Goelzer, 333; S. S. 405, 134; Landgraf, *Bemerkungen zum sermo cottidianus in den Briefen Ciceros und an Cicero,* in *Bl. f. Bayr. G.* 16 (1903), 274.

26. **recusare:** not so strong as our English 'refuse"; rather 'to object,' it having been originally a legal term. Cf. Cic. *Pro Mil.* 36, 100; *Pro Caec.* 28, 81.

27. **erogari:** *erogare* originally meant to disburse money from the public treasury by virtue of the law of 'rogation.' (Cf. Cic. *Or. in Vat.* 12; Liv. 22, 23.) In the later period of the Roman Empire it was applied to the distribution of money in donatives and largesses. In patristic Latin it has various shades of meaning: 'to destroy or waste' (cf. Tert. *Apol.* 44); 'to distribute,' in which meaning it is used here (cf. Tert. *Ad Martyras* 4, *quis ergo non libentissime tantum pro vero habeat erogare, quantum alii pro falso*); 'to consume' (cf. Min. Fel. *Oct.* 35 *ignes Aetnae montis . . . flagrant, nec erogantur*).

28. **dominicam:** Wohleb, 69, observes that the adjective *dominicus* was used by classical authors whose language was tinctured with the *sermo plebeius,* as for instance, Varro, Seneca, and Petronius. From the third century on derivative adjectives constantly take the place of a subjective or objective genitive, and even of a prepositional expression. Cf. Watson, 215; Wackernagel, *Genetiv und Adjektiv,* in *Mélanges de Linguistique off. à Ferd. de Laussure* (1908), 10.

29. **dispensatores:** cf. 1 Pet. 4, 10, *unusquisque, sicut accepit gratiam, in alterutrum illam administrantes, sicut boni dispensatores multiformis gratiae Dei.*

30. **ut facile atque expedite possint, quod impigre ac studiose volunt:** figure of anaphora.

CHAPTER 2

(3) *Reasons why oftentimes a discourse which satisfies the hearer dissatisfies the speaker. The inadequacy of language to express thought.*

(4) *The catechist should find a pleasure in his own discourse.*

1. **sermonem:** in the meaning of 'discourse' or 'sermon' is ecclesiastical. Cf. K. S. 2, 567.

2. **indignum auribus aliorum:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 1, 26, *qui vero nihil potest . . . dignum hominum auribus efficere.*

3. **potuisse:** the early eds. read *posse.* In p. c. Latin the perfect infinitive is frequently substituted for the present. Cf. Hoppe, 52. In classical Latin this usage is confined to poetry. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 1, *sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum | collegisse iuvat.*

4. **totum:** = *omnia.* The use of *totum* = *omnia* and *toti* = *omnes,* which frequently occurs in p. c. Latin, may be traced back to the *sermo cottidianus.* It was originally confined to expressions of time (cf. Plaut. *Miles* 112, *quoi bini custodes semper totis horis occubant*) and to the *sermo castrensis* (cf. Caes. *B. C.* 3, 44, *totis copiis.*) This use of *totum* and *toti* is likewise found in the poets Verg. Propert. Juv. and Stat., but it does not occur in prose before Seneca. From Apuleius on it is found frequently. Cf. French *tout ce que,* Italian *tutto ciò che.* Also Ambr. *de Nab.* 117, *totis diebus; Reg. S. Benedicti,* 43, 19, *ut nec totum* (= *omnia*) *perdant.* Cf. S. S. 628, 28; Wölfflin, *Über die Aufgaben der lateinischen Lexikographie,* in *Rh. M.* 37 (1882), 107.

5. **ille intellectus:** in p. c. Latin the demonstrative pronouns often take the place of the missing definite article. Cf. Wolterstorffs, *Entwickelung von ille zum bestimmten Artikel,* in *Glotta* 10 (1919), 62. For Augustine's teaching on intellectual apprehension, and the function of language in expressing it, cf. *De Trin.* 15, 9; *De Magistro* 3, 5, 6; *De Quant. Anim.* 18; *De Fide et Symb.* 3; *Conf.* 10, 12; Martin, 65, quotes this whole passage from *De cat. Rud.* and observes, *le traité Sur l'Art de catéchiser les simples offre*

un passage très net, d'un tour parfaitement philosophique. Augustine's skill in moulding the Latin language so as to render it an adequate vehicle for the conveying of abstruse philosophical and theological thought, is seen in such passages as this. In his ability to coin the appropriate, the inevitable, phrase to describe subtle intellectual processes, he has never been surpassed. Cf. Wendland 1, 409, *Das Latein hat durch Augustin die höchste Ausdrucksfähigkeit gewonnen und ist erst durch ihn für die Rolle tauglich geworden, die es im Mittelalter gespielt hat;* Harnack, in *Das Christentum und die christliche Sprache des Pontius,* in *Texte und Untersuchungen* III, IX, 32 (1913), 57 writes: *Die Denkweise und Sprache des lateinischen Christentums ist fast ausschliesslich durch Cyprian und Augustin bestimmt worden.*

6. **locutio:** on the inadequacy of speech to convey thought, cf. Aug. *Serm.* 120, 2, *quod dico apud me, quaero vobis dicere, et verba deficiunt.* Cf. the semiproverbial expressions so common in mediaeval Latin: *dicere non possum, tacere non audeo.*

7. **vestigia quaedam miro modo impressit memoriae:** for the comparison, cf. Cic. *Tusc.* I, 25, 61, *an imprimi quasi ceram animum putamus, et esse memoriam signatarum rerum in mente vestigia.* For the thought, cf. Aug. *Conf.* 11, 18, 23, *quamquam praeterita cum vera narrantur, ex memoria proferuntur non res ipsae, quae praeterierunt, sed verba concepta ex imaginibus earum, quae in animo velut vestigia per sensus praetereundo fixerunt.*

8. **perdurant illa cum syllabarum morulis:** the meaning of this passage becomes clear if we keep in mind Aug. *De Musica* 6, 21, *quamlibet enim brevis syllaba, cum et incipiat, et desinat, alio tempore initium eius, et alio finis sonat. Tenditur ergo et ipsa (memoria) quantulocumque temporis intervallo, et ab initio suo per medium suum tendit ad finem. In audienda itaque vel brevissima syllaba, nisi memoria nos adiuvet, ut eo momento temporis quo iam non initium, sed finis syllabae sonat, maneat ille motus in animo, qui factus est cum initium ipsum sonuit: nihil nos audisse possumus dicere.* In this passage Augustine is discussing the relation of memory to hearing and he wishes to show that a mental process is involved in the act of hearing. He takes for example a word of two syllables: one does not hear the second syllable until after the first syllable has been pronounced. Now if the memory

did not store away an impression of the first syllable while the second syllable was being pronounced, how could one ever conceive of the word as a whole? Even in a word of but one syllable, some interval of time, some minute pause (*morula*), must intervene between the first and last part of the syllable, so that to grasp the word as a whole one must retain in one's memory the first part of the syllable until the second part has been sounded. Augustine uses the same comparison in *De Civ. Dei* 10, 15 . . . *et syllabatim per transitorias temporum morulas* ('at rapidly passing intervals of time') *humanae linguae vocibus loqueretur.* **morulis:** p. c.; the diminutive of *mora.* It first occurs in Apul. *Fragm.* 10 *Met.* (ed. Oudendorp, p. 71), *modicum illud morulae.* Souter, in a review of Gibb and Montgomery's edition of the *Confessions* in *J. T. S.* 11 (1909), 152, states that he has found six examples of *morula* in Augustine and adds "it looks as if it were African." Diminutives are a marked characteristic of colloquial Latin,—at least the form, for the diminutive idea has frequently been lost. Many of these diminutives (in form) have passed over into the Romance languages, forming new substantives in which the diminutive idea has been entirely lost. (Cf. Italian *fratello, coltello;* French *soleil, abeille.*)

9. **sonantia signa:** Augustine's theory of the relation of thought to language is brought out in his treatise *De Magistro.* Martin, 64, thus sums it up: *Augustin établit fort bien que la pensée, en son propre fond, diffère du langage, et, en général, de tous les signes qui la manifestent: le signe, d'ailleurs, est indispensable; c'est par lui que notre pensée se révèle a nous-mêmes et aux autres. On ne manifeste, et même on ne conçoit jamais la pensée sans un langage; toute perception claire correspond à une détermination de la pensée, et toute détermination est nécessairement une formule, ou plus généralement, toute détermination s'identifie avec un signe; et, d'un autre côté, le signe n'est intelligible que si l'on a déjà une connaissance convenable de la chose signifiée* (*De Magistro* 10, 33, *cum enim mihi signum datur, si nescientem me invenit ciuis rei signum sit, docere me nihil potest*). For the expression, cf. Aug. *Conf.* 4, 10, 15, *ecce sic peragitur et sermo noster per signa sonantia.*

10. **sive cogitentur . . . sive proferantur:** = *sive cogitantur*

. . . *sive proferuntur. Sive* governs the indicative in classical Latin; in p. c. Latin the subjunctive is frequently found. Cf. Madvig, 332, obs.; Riemann, 369, 210, b.

11. **cum illa . . . nec Latina, nec Graeca vel Hebraea:** as *vel* sometimes = *et,* so here it is equivalent to *nec.* Augustine, in his writings, frequently observes that, though one may speak Latin, another Greek, the thought itself is neither Latin nor Greek. Cf. Aug. *Conf.* 10, 12, 19, *audivi sonos verborum, quibus significantur, cum de his disseritur, sed illi alii, istae autem aliae sunt. Nam illi aliter Graece, aliter Latine sonant, istae vero nec Graecae nec Latinae sunt nec aliud eloquiorum genus.*

12. **nec cuiusque alterius gentis:** = *nec ullius alterius gentis. Ullus* and *quisquam* are used after negatives in classical Latin. Cf. Ch. 1, N. 21.

13. **aliter atque aliter:** figure of iteration. Cf. S. S. 670, 61.

14. **quisque:** the indefinite 'one' or gnomic 'you' is frequently expressed in Latin by *aliquis, quisque, quispiam.*

15. **affectus . . . animi . . . exeat in faciem vultumque faciat . . . per sonum vocis: affectus animi:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 5, 16, 47, *qualis cuiusque animi adfectus esset.* **in faciem vultumque:** *facies* refers to the face, *vultus,* to the expression of the face (cf. Wilkins' note on Cic. *De Orat.* 1, 28, 128, *facies*). For the thought, cf. Cic. *De Off.* 1, 29, *licet ora ipsa cernere oratorum aut eorum, qui aut libidine aliqua aut metu commoti sunt aut voluptate nimia gestiunt; quorum omnium vultus, voces, motus statusque mutantur.* Augustine believed firmly in the reciprocal influence of mind and body. Cf. Aug. *Ep.* 9, 3. That this is true of such *motus animi* as grief, anger, and so forth, there can be no doubt. **vultumque faciat:** Barker, 4, translates this expression: 'produces a change of countenance.' I prefer to translate 'registers its expression'; because, if Augustine simply meant to say 'it produces a change of expression,' he would have used the ordinary phrase *vultumque mutat* (cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 2, 17, 41, *quis mediocris gladiator ingemuit, quis voltum mutavit umquam*). Now Augustine wished to say rather that anger produces, makes, a certain expression: *vultumque facit.* For the thought, cf. Cic. *De Or.* 3, 57, 216, *omnis enim motus animi suum quendam a natura habet*

voltum et sonum et gestum; corpusque totum hominis et eius omnis voltus omnesque voces, ut nervi in fidibus, ita sonat, ut a motu animi quoque sunt pulsae. On the relations, therefore, between emotions and looks, the ancients had anticipated our modern psychology. **per sonum vocis:** for the expression cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5, 649, *qui vultus, vocisque sonus, vel gressus eunti;* also Aug. *De Serm. Dom. in Monte,* 1, 2, c. 83; *De Fide et Symb.* 4; *De Contin.* 2; *Conf.* 8, 28; *De Gen. ad Lit.* 1, 1, c. 6.

16. **coniciendum est:** = *conici potest.* The gerundive construction is not used in classical Latin to express possibility. Cf. Ch. 1, N. 9. For the classical construction to express possibility, cf. Aug. *De Serm. Dom. in Monte* 12, 4, *ex ceteris eius operibus potest conici. Conicere* was originally a technical term for interpreting omens.

16ª. **ictu intelligentiae:** the metaphor is derived from the rapidity of the lightning-bolt (cf. Cic. *De Off.* 3, 25, 94, *is . . . ictu fulminis deflagravit*). Augustine uses the same image of the lightning-flash above: *ille intellectus quasi rapida coruscatione perfundit animum.*

17. **impressioni memoriae:** *impressio* is here a verbal substantive governing *memoriae* in the dative. For the construction, cf. Cic. *De Leg.* 1, 42, *quodsi iustitia est obtemperatio scriptis legibus.*

17ª. **intentionem:** here used in the meaning of 'mental effort or strain'; cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 2, 23, 54, *animus intentione sua depellit pressum omnem ponderum.* For *intentio* in the meaning of 'aim,' 'intention,' cf. Aug. *De cat. Rud.* Ch. 15, S. 23, *volo cogites aliam esse intentionem dictantis,* (cf. Plin. *Pan.* 78, 3, *haec nempe intentio tua, ut libertatem revoces*). *Intentio* likewise occurs in this treatise in the meaning of 'attention'; cf. Ch. 6, S. 10, *transferenda est eius intentio;* Ch. 11, S. 16, *quodsi . . . intentio etiam ab ipsa rerum veritate aberraverit;* (cf. Mayor's note on Plin. *Ep.* 3, 5, 17, *intentione;* also Quint. *Inst. orat.* 6, 3, 1, *risus animum ab intentione rerum frequenter avertit*).

17ᵇ. **velut frustra operam insumamus:** for the expression, cf. Liv. 10, 18, *malle frustra operam insumptam.*

17ᶜ. **frigidum:** = 'dull,' 'flat,' 'tiresome.' The use of this adjective in Latin and English aptly illustrates how, although two languages may have an image in common, they apply it differently. 'Cold' in English implies lack of feeling, 'cold-hearted,' 'unre-

sponsive,' while *frigidus* means 'dull,' 'tiresome,' 'flat.' Cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 2, 64, 260, *haec aut frigida sunt, aut tam salsa, cum aliud est exspectatum.*

18. ut huic exhibendo ministerio non desim: *ut . . . non = ne:* negative purpose clauses are frequently confused with negative result clauses in p. c. Latin. *Exhibere,* as used here in the meaning of *offerre, praestare,* is p. c. For the expression, cf. *Dig.* 50, 1, 17, *ministerium exhibere.*

19. **quando forte ut cupis nec cernere valeas:** *quando . . . valeas = quando . . . vales. Quando* causal in classical Latin usually takes the indicative. Cf. Lane 2013. **nec:** = *ne . . . quidem* ('not even'). In Livy, Quintilian, and Tacitus *nec* is frequently used for both senses of *ne . . . quidem:* (1) 'not even' as in our passage here and (2) 'also not.' Cf. Butler's note on *nec* in Apul. *Apol.* 15, 26, also Duff's note on Juvenal, 11, 7, *nec prohibente tribuno.* Cf. S. S. 637, 40; K. S. 2, 134; Draeger, 2, 71. Most probably, too, the early Christian writers in using *nec* in the meaning of 'not even' were influenced by Biblical Latin in which *nec* is frequently employed to translate the Greek οὐδέ. Cf. Matth. 6, 29, ὅτι οὐδὲ Σολομὼν (*quoniam nec Salomon*).

20. **in aenigmate et per speculum:** cf. 1 Cor. 13, 12 *videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate.*

21. **carnis disrupta caligine:** the idea of the soul being imprisoned in the body is both Platonic and Christian. For the thought, cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 19, 45, *qui tum etiam, cum has terras incolentes circumfusi erant caligine, tamen acie mentis dispicere cupiebant;* Plin. *Ep.* 1, 22, 7, *sarcina carnis abiecta ad suum anima revolavit auctorem;* Aug. *Conf.* 2, 2, *sed exhalabantur nebulae . . . et obnubilabant atque obfuscabant cor meum, ut non discerneretur serenitas dilectionis a caligine libidinis.*

22. **aeternum serenum:** *serenum* is here a substantive. Cf. Mart. 6, 42, 8, *serenum nitidum micat.* For the thought, cf. Dante *Parad.* 19, 64-67, *lume non è se non vien dal sereno | che non si turba mai, anzi è tenebra, | od ombra della carne, o suo veleno.*

23. **sine volumine caeli:** *volumen* = the 'revolution' or 'rotation' of the heavens. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 2, 71, *adde, quod adsidua rapitur vertigine caelum | sideraque alta trahit celerique volumine torquet.*

24. **sine noctis incursu:** night shall not encroach upon that eternal day. Cf. Apoc. 21, 5, *et nox ultra non erit.* Cf. Ambr. *in Ps.* 38, 18, *vetus dies praeteriit, novus venit, alius enim dies hominis, alius dies Christi . . de quo et David ait . . . sanctus ergo in die domini exsultat, in die novo, in quo Deus Dominus inluxit nobis et dedit novam lucem;* id. *Ep.* 22, 6, *dies, quos nulla caligo noctis interpolat.* The early Fathers of the Church, imitating the Apocalypse, were fond of describing heaven in terms of earth. Cf. Cypr. *De Laude Martyrii* 4, 5, *omnia illic non frigoris nec ardoris, nec ut in autumno arva requiescant, aut iterum vere novo tellus fecunda parturiat; unius cuncta sunt temporis, unius poma feruntur aestatis, quippe cum nec mensibus suis tunc luna deserviat, nec per horarum sol momenta decurrat, aut in noctem lux fugata concedat. Habet populus quies laeta, sedes tenet placida;* cf. Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* 26, 7, *nam dies vitae aeternae unus dies est sine occasu;* cf. also *"The Heavenly Jerusalem":* "No dampish mist is seen in thee, | No cold nor darksome night; | There every soul shines as the sun; | There God himself gives light."

25. **quem oculus non vidit . . . ascendit:** cf. 1 Cor. 2, 9, *quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae praeparavit Deus iis qui diligunt illum.* Augustine is fond of adapting this text to describe various things. In ch. 17, S. 27, he writes, *in quo uno est requies, quam oculus non vidit,* etc. *Ascendit* is frequently used as a translation of ἀναβαίνειν in p. c. Latin, where classical Latin would use some such verb as *proficisci.*

26. **vilescat:** p. c. Many new inchoative verbs were formed in p. c. Latin without their having an inchoative force; cf. such verbs in Italian as *finisco, capisco.*

27. **libet inusitate cernere et taedet usitate proloqui:** figure of anaphora.

28. **nos eodem opere delectamur:** for the thought, cf. Sen. *Ep. mor.* 9, 7, *illa in opere suo occupata sollicitudo ingens oblectamentum habet in ipsa occupatione.*

29. **filum:** a rhetorical term. Cf. Cic. *Or.* 124, *si tenuis causa est, tum etiam argumentandi tenue filum;* id. *De Am.* 25, *si aliud quoddam filum orationis tuae.*

30. **acceptius:** here the comparative of the neuter adjective *acceptum,* agreeing with *filum.*

31. **insinuantur:** here used in its p. c. meaning of 'to teach by repeated assertion—to inculcate.' It does not imply underhand dealing or indirect methods as the English word 'insinuate' frequently does. Cf. Rönsch, 387; Goelzer, 276. It is a favorite word with Augustine. Cf. *De Fide et Symb.* 9, 18, *quibus* (*libris*) *quid proprie Pater esset et quid Filio insinuare conati sunt.*

32. **narratio . . . brevior . . . longior:** according to Auct. the *narratio* should be always *brevis.* Cf. Auct. *Ad Herennium,* 1, 9, 14, *tres res convenit habere narrationem, ut brevis, ut dilucida, ut veri similis sit.* Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3, 16, ridicules the notion that the *narratio* must be *brevis.*

33. **(narratio) . . . plena atque perfecta:** Augustine now takes up the term *narratio* suggested by the deacon Deogratias (cf. Ch. 1, N. 13), and sets out to develop it. He first recalls the division of the *narratio* as given by Quintilian 4, 2, 3, *praeter haec alias* (*narrationes*) *perfectas, alias imperfectas vocant; quod quis ignorat?* **plena atque perfecta:** a hendiadys for 'complete,' 'finished,' 'perfect.' Cf. Cic. De Orat. 59, *oratorem plenum atque perfectum* ('the finished orator'); cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2, 74, *plene autem et perfecte* (= 'completely,' 'perfectly.')

34. **hilarem datorem diligit deus:** cf. 2 Cor. 9, 7, *hilarem enim datorem diligit deus.*

35. **cohortando:** Augustine here answers the deacon's question (cf. Ch. 1, N. 14) by inserting the *exhortatio* as part of the catechetical instruction. Cf. Ch. 25, S. 46-49.

36. **hilaritate:** for the development of this point, cf. Ch. 10, S. 14. Cf. 1 Thess. 1, 6, *excipientes verbum in tribulatione multa, cum gaudio spiritus sancti.*

37. **suggesserit:** in the meaning of 'to suggest,' 'to prompt,' 'to bring to mind,' is p. c. It is frequently found in this meaning in juridical Latin. Cf. *Dig.* 4, 6, 26, *quoties aequitas restitutionem suggerit.* For other examples, cf. Dirksen, s. v. From this expression we may infer that Augustine simply dictated this treatise without making any previous preparation, for in his sermons upon

the psalms, which were frequently extempore, he frequently makes use of such phrases as *quantum Deus donaverit.*

CHAPTER 3

(5, 6) *The subject-matter of the instruction: a summary treatment of Old Testament history in which the various events are made to converge upon the coming of Christ.*

1. **ad praesentia tempora ecclesiae:** 'up to the present period of Church history.' The plural *tempora* is here used because it does not refer to a point of time, but to a period of time. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 3, *Lycurgi temporibus Homerus etiam fuisse traditur.* Modern pedagogy could hardly improve on the keen hints given in this passage as to how the subject matter of catechetics should be chosen, arranged and presented so as to secure and hold the candidate's attention. How much psychology and logic are contained in the lines, *ita ut eligantur quaedam mirabiliora, quae suavius audiuntur atque in ipsis articulis constituta sunt!* For Augustine, applied psychology is the essence of catechetics, just as in oratory it is the essence of oratory (cf. Cic. *De Orat.,* 1).

2. **pentateuchum:** p. c. Cf. Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 1, 10.

3. **regnorum . . . libros:** the title of the Books of Kings in the Septuagint was *βασιλειῶν βιβλία,* which was translated literally in the Old Latin version: *Regnorum Libri,* which nomenclature Augustine follows here. Cf. also Cypr. *Test.* 3, 62, *in Basilion* (*βασιλειῶν*) *tertio;* id. 3, 80, in *Regnorum tertio;* cf. Ambr. *De Apol. David,* 1, 2, *in secundo Regnorum legimus libro.* It was St. Jerome who changed the title of these books in the Vulgate to *Libri Regum.* Cf. Souter, *Pelagius,* p. 84.

4. **evangelium:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'the gospel.' Cf. Matth. 4, 23, *praedicans evangelium.*

5. **ad verbum edidicimus:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 1, 34, *ediscendis ad verbum quam plurimis et nostris scriptis et alienis.*

6. **memoriter:** *not* 'from memory' or 'by heart,' for which Latin uses '*ex memoria,*' but 'with accurate memory,' like *μνημονικῶς,* (cf. Plato, *Polit.* 257 B). Madvig in his note on Cic.

De Fin. 1, 10, 34, observes: *memoriter nec hoc loco nec usquam aut apud Ciceronem aut apud quemquam veterum est e memoria ut contrarium sit de scripto.*" The catechist is not to rehearse the Scriptures at length, even if he has them by heart!

7. **in ipsis articulis:** the epochs or cardinal points of history (cf. Ch. 17, N. 17; Ch. 22, N. 1). For *articulus* in this meaning of 'a critical juncture,' cf. Ter. *Ad.* 229, *vide, ut in ipso articulo oppressit;* Cic. *Quinct.* 19, *ut eum in ipso articulo temporis adstringeret;* Aug. *apud* Suet. *Claud.* 4, *si de singulis articulis temporum deliberabimus;* Curt. 3, 5, 11, *in quo me articulo rerum mearum fortuna deprehenderet cernitis;* Plin. 2, 216, *in ipsis quos dixi temporum articulis;* id. 18, 222, *hi cardines singulis etiam nunc articulis temporum dividuntur.* For this meaning in Scripture, cf. Gen. 7, 13, *in articulo diei illius;* elsewhere in Augustine, cf. *Conf.* 3, 9, 17, *articulus occulti temporis; De Civ. Dei* 16, 24, *cum sint insignes articuli temporum.* Some writers (cf. Eggersdorfer, p. 178) would see in this expression a reference to the articles of the Creed! *Articulus* in this meaning is very late mediaeval Latin.

8. **involucris:** the ancient book was a roll of parchment. The Latins were fond of comparing the development of a thought to the unrolling ('evolving') of a manuscript. Cf., for example, Cic. *De Or.* 1, 35, 161, *sic modo in oratione Crassi divitias atque ornamenta eius ingeni per quaedam involucra atque integumenta perspexi, sed ea contemplari cum cuperem, vix prospiciendi potestas fuit.* Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 11, 24, *evolve diligenter eius eum librum, qui est de animo.* In this passage, therefore, Augustine likens a catechetical discourse to the unfolding and spreading out of a manuscript.

9. **commendari:** here = 'to emphasize.' Besides its ordinary meaning of 'to recommend,' 'to praise,' 'to honor,' this verb is frequently used by Augustine in the meaning of 'to emphasize,' 'to mention,' 'to explain,' 'to relate,' etc. Cf. *T. L. L.* s. v.

10. **quem narrando volumus excitare . . . quem docendo debemus instruere:** anaphora. The catechist should make a judicious selection of matter so as not to tire out the candidate. Cf. Auct. *Ad Herennium* 1, 17, 27, *commodius est in altero libro de ceteris rebus deinceps exponere, ne qua propter multitudinem litterarum possit animum tuum defatigatio retardare.*

11. **praecepti finem,** etc.: cf. Tim. 1, 5, *finis autem praecepti est caritas de corde puro, et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta.*

12. **quod est corpus eius:** cf. Col. 1, 18, *et ipse est caput corporis ecclesiae.* Note the elaborate allegory that Augustine builds on this text.

13. **sanctis:** here used in its scriptural meaning of 'the saints,' 'the just.' Cf. Ps. 30, 24, *diligite dominum omnes sancti eius.*

14. **qui etiam ante adventum . . . in hoc saeculo vixerunt:** for the thought, cf. Aug. *Contra duas Epp. Pelag.* 3, 4, 10, *huius generis fuerunt antiqui omnes iusti et ipse Moyses, testamenti minister veteris, heres novi, quia ex fide qua nos vivimus, una eademque vixerunt, incarnationem, resurrectionemque Christi credentes futuram, quam nos credimus factam.* Note how in this treatise Augustine insists upon the intimate connection and interrelation of the Old and New Testaments: the Old Testament being but a preparation and a type and foretokening of the New. Note, likewise, how Augustine makes our Saviour the central object of both the Old and New Testaments.

14[a]. **utique:** a favorite particle of Augustine's to express strong affirmation (= *ναί*). Cf. Ch. 6, N. 4.

15. **secutum est caput . . . membra cetera:** the dependence of the other members on the head was proverbial in Latin. Cf. Aug. *in Ps.* 29, *Enarr.* 2 *proverbium est antiquum et verum: ubi caput, et cetera membra.* Cf. Otto, 75.

16. **dignitate ac potestate:** figure of homoeoptoton.

17. **Iesus Christus antequam appareret in carne . . . mediator dei et hominum:** *apparere* is often used in classical Latin of divine apparitions and manifestations. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2, 622, *apparent dirae facies, inimicaque Troiae | numina magna deum.* In Biblical Latin, however, *apparere* is the translation of the Greek verb *ἐπιφαίνειν* which is frequently used in profane authors (e. g. Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius Hal., Plutarch) of the manifestation of some god coming to the help of men, or again of the advent of a king to a city (cf. Herodianus 1, 7, 3). Hence *ἐπιφαίνειν, φανεροῦν,* are used in the New Testament to describe the coming of Christ to save the world. Cf. Tit. 2, 11, *apparuit* (*ἐπεφάνη*)

gratia dei salvatoris nostri omnibus hominibus; cf. 1 Ioan. 3, 5, *et scitis quia ille apparuit* (ἐφανερώθη) *ut peccata nostra tolleret.* Augustine is, therefore, using this word in its Scriptural meaning. Cf. *De cat. Rud.* Ch. 26, S. 52, *assumendo tamen hominem, et in carne mortali hominibus apparendo venit ad homines.* **mediator dei et hominum:** cf. 1 Tim. 2, 5, *unus enim deus, unus et mediator dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus.* For Augustine's explanation of this text, cf. *Serm.* 47, 12, 21, *mediator Dei et hominum, quia Deus cum Patre, quia homo cum hominibus. Non mediator homo praeter deitatem, non mediator Deus praeter humanitatem. Ecce mediator: divinitas sine humanitate non est mediatrix, humanitas sine divinitate non est mediatrix, sed inter divinitatem solam et humanitatem solam mediatrix est humana divinitas et divina humanitas Christi; De Civ. Dei* 9, 15, *non ob hoc mediator est Christus, quia Verbum; maxime quippe immortale et maxime beatum Verbum longe est a mortalibus miseriis; sed mediator est secundum quod homo.*

18. **qui est super omnes,** etc.: both the Vulgate and the Old Latin version of Rom. 9, 5, read *qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in saecula.* The Greek version runs ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Sanday and Headlam in their note on this passage (*Commentary on Epistle to the Romans,* p. 232) observe that πάντων is probably neuter. Augustine is here following, most probably, some Old Latin version which took πάντων as masculine: *omnes.* Cf. also Victorinus Afer *Contra Arium* 1, 1, *qui est super omnes;* Iren. *Adversus omnes Haereses* 1, 3, 16, *qui est Deus super omnes benedictus in saecula.* The epistle to the Romans was Augustine's favorite epistle. Cf. Rentschka, 71.

19. **praemisit in sanctis Patriarchis et Prophetis quamdam partem corporis sui:** cf. Eph. 4, 12, *et ipse dedit quidem . . . prophetas . . . in aedificationem corporis Christi;* cf. Iren. *Adv. Haer.* 55, 1, *cum enim et ipsi* (*prophetae*) *membra essent Christi, unusquisque eorum secundum quod erat membrum, secundum hoc et prophetationem manifestabat,* etc.; cf. Iren. *Demonstratio Praed. Apost.* 6. Cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei* 17, 16, *Ac per hoc Christus Deus, antequam in illa civitate per Mariam fieret homo, ipse in patriarchis et prophetis fundavit eam.*

20. **vinculis legis . . . quinque temporum articulos: vinculis legis:** for the expression, cf. Ezech. 20, 37, *et subiiciam vos sceptro meo, et inducam vos in vinculis foederis;* Lact. *Inst. Div.* 5, 23, *legis vincula ruperunt.* **quinque temporum articulos:** the epochs or periods of history which are to be treated summarily in the *narratio.* Cf. Ch. 17, N. 17; Ch. 22, N. 1.

21. **venturus:** the substantive use of the future participle is rare in classical Latin; in p. c. Latin it is frequently found. Cf. Lane, 2292.

22. **non destitit:** figure of litotes.

23. **per quem lex data est:** cf. Ioan. 1, 17, *quia lex per Moysen data est.*

24. **carnaliter:** p. c. Cf. Rom. 8, 5, *qui enim secundum carnem sunt, quae carnis sunt sapiunt.*

25. **benedictione:** p. c. Cf. Kaulen, 63.

26. **constricta atque conclusa:** cf. Ch. 1, N. 17.

27. **illis obligati sunt pedes,** etc.: cf. Ps. 19, 19, *ipsi obligati sunt, et ceciderunt; nos autem surreximus, et erecti sumus.*

28. **ipse est caput corporis ecclesiae:** cf. Col. 1, 17-18, *et ipse est ante omnes, et omnia in ipso constant. Et ipse est caput corporis ecclesiae.*

29. **credendo in eum:** in classical Latin *credere* takes the dative of the person in the meaning of 'to trust one,' 'to believe,' 'to take one's word.' In ecclesiastical Latin *credere alicui* retains its classical meaning (cf. *Rom.* 4, 3, *credidit Abraham Deo,* which is a literal translation of the Greek: ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ); *credere aliquem* = *credere aliquem esse; credere in aliquem* = 'to believe in' and, as a result, 'to love.' (Cf. Ioan. 14, 2, *creditis in Deum, et in me credite,* which is likewise in imitation of the Greek: πιστεύετε εἰς τὸν θεόν, καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ πιστεύετε). For these various uses, cf. Aug. *Serm.* 181, *non dicit, credo Deum, vel credo Deo, quamvis et haec saluti necessaria sint. Aliud enim est credere illi, aliud credere illum, aliud credere in illum. Credere illi, est credere vera esse quae loquitur; credere illum, credere quia ipse est Deus; credere in illum, diligere illum. Credere in aliquo* likewise occurs in the Scriptures in the meaning of *credere alicui.* (Cf.

Act. 9, 42, *et crediderunt multi in Domino*). In 2 Par. 20, 20, *credere in aliquo* and *credere alicui* occur in the same text with no difference of meaning: *credite in Domino Deo vestro . . . credite prophetis* where the Greek reads ἐμπιστεύσατε ἐν κυρίῳ . . . . ἐμπιστεύσατε ἐν προφήταις.

30. **praecurrendo divulsi sunt, sed adiuncti potius obsequendo:** note figure of chiasmus.

31. **omnia quae ante scripta sunt, ut nos doceremur scripta sunt, et figurae nostrae fuerunt:** cf. Rom. 15, 4, *quaecumque enim scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.* **ut nos doceremur:** both the Vulgate and the Old Latin version read *ad nostram doctrinam; ut nos doceremur,* however, would seem to be the reading of some early Latin version and not merely a casual paraphrase of Augustine's, for it likewise occurs in *Contra Faustum* 6, 9, *omnia enim quae ante scripta sunt, ut nos doceremur scripta sunt.* **et figurae nostrae fuerunt:** the Vulgate of 1 Cor. 10, 6, reads *haec autem in figura facta sunt nostri* (ταῦτα δὲ τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν); the Old Latin version reads *haec autem in figuram nostri facta sunt.* The reading of our text (*et figurae nostrae fuerunt*) would likewise seem to be taken from some early version for it occurs in *Contra Faustum* 4, 2, *haec omnia figurae nostrae fuerunt.* When Augustine wrote this treatise (circa 405 A. D.) there were two versions of the Scriptures in use: the Old Latin versions and the Vulgate. It may be observed here that it is better to speak of pre-Vulgate texts as the Old Latin version or versions (as there were many), to avoid endless confusion in the meaning of 'Itala.' Among Biblical scholars in Germany, the name 'Itala' is still used to designate the Old Latin version. In 1896 appeared F. C. Burkitt's famous book *The Old Latin and the Itala* in which he identified the much discussed word *Itala* of *De Doctrina Christiana,* 2, 15, 22 (*in ipsis autem interpretationibus, Itala ceteris praeferatur; nam est verborum tenacior cum perspecuitate sententiae*) with the Vulgate of Jerome and rejected the theory that by *Itala* Augustine meant the Old Latin version. (Cf. also Burkitt's article, *St. Augustine's Bible and the Itala,* in *J. Th. S.* 11 (1909), p. 258-268; 447-458). Burkitt's theory was accepted by such great Biblical scholars as P. Corssen in a review of *The Old Latin and the Itala,* in *Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1897),

p. 416-422, and by Dom De Bruyne in an article, *L'Itala de Saint Augustin,* in *Revue bénédictine* 30 (1913), 294. Among recent writers who reject Burkitt's theory may be mentioned R. P. Vaccari and A. D'Alès. Vaccari in an article, *Alle Origini della Volgata,* in *La Civiltà cattolica* (1915), 4; (1916), 1, suggests that in the obscure passage in *De Doctrina Christiana* 2, 15, 22, *in ipsis autem interpretationibus, Itala ceteris praeferatur,* instead of *Itala,* we should read *Aquila.* This correction, however, as D'Alès points out (*Novatien: Étude sur la Théologie romaine au Milieu du III^e Siècle,* Paris, 1925, p. 38), does violence to the grammar of the phrase, for it should be in the genitive: *Aquilae* (*interpretatio*). D'Alès (*op. cit.,* p. 39) believes that *Itala* is a copyist's mistake for *illa,* which fits in perfectly with the context. D'Alès is not the first to suggest this new reading. It had been conjectured by the great Bentley in 1734, but was rejected by the learned Benedictine, Dom Sabatier. According to D'Alès, therefore, there was no 'Italic Version,' such as has been inferred from the existing text of *De Doctrina Christiana,* 2, 15, 22. From a study of the Scriptural quotations in Novatian, he concludes that there was an established Latin version of the Bible, which he calls *Vetus Romanum.* In this version the Old Testament is translated from the Septuagint; it is not, however, the same as that cited by the African writers. The Old Latin versions can be traced back as early as 250 A. D., though it is commonly admitted that a Latin version existed towards the middle of the second century. The Vulgate edition, which was prepared by St. Jerome at the invitation of Pope Damasus, appeared at intervals between 382 and 405. In short phrases, whether of the Old or the New Testament, where Augustine does not use a version but quotes from memory, he frequently gives the Old Latin text. This was only natural, since he was more familiar with the Old Latin version which he had used for at least six years in religious controversy and literary work before the appearance of the Vulgate revision. (A modern parallel case would be that of Newman who even after his conversion would naturally, unless he had the Douay version before him, quote from the King James version, which he had used for years and which he knew almost by heart). In the longer passages, where we may suppose he used a version, his Old Testament quotations were taken from an Old Latin version, while for quota-

tions from the New Testament he used the Vulgate for the Gospels and for the Epistles a type of text represented in the Freising fragments (r). (Cf. Souter, *Text and Canon of the New Testament,* New York, 1913, p. 39; also Dom De Bruyne, *Collectanea Biblica Latina* V, Rome, 1921); for the Acts of the Apostles he employed the Old Latin version of St. Cyprian. The fact that in this treatise Augustine employed the Old Latin version for the Old Testament quotations, the Old Latin version of St. Cyprian for the Acts of the Apostles, and the Vulgate of Jerome for the Gospels and Epistles, is in keeping with Burkitt's position (*op. cit.,* p. 57), that "during St. Augustine's episcopate, from about 400 A. D. onwards, the Church read the Gospels from St. Jerome's version, though for the Acts it retained a very pure form of the Old African Latin." On this subject, cf. Epilogus to the Oxford Vulgate; F. C. Burkitt, *The Vulgate Gospels and the Codex Brixianus,* in *J. Th. S.* 1 (1900), p. 129; H. J. White, *Vulgate,* in *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible* 4, pp. 873-890.

32. **contingebant in eis:** the early eds. omit the preposition *in* which is not found in the Vulgate. Cf. 1 Cor. 10, 11, *haec autem omnia in figura contingebant illis.*

33. **scripta sunt autem propter nos, in quos finis saeculorum obvenit:** cf. 1 Cor. 10, 11, *scripta sunt autem ad correptionem nostram, in quos fines saeculorum devenerunt.* **propter nos:** it is difficult to say whether this reading represents a deliberate substitution on Augustine's part for *ad correptionem nostram,* an early Latin version, or a slip of the memory. *In Ps.* 6, 1, 8, he writes, *scripta sunt autem ad correctionem nostram,* but on the other hand in *Contra Faustum* 4, 2; 6, 9; 8, 2, he has the identical reading, *propter nos.* **in quos finis saeculorum obvenit:** the Vulgate reads, *in quos finis saeculorum devenerunt;* the Old Latin version, *in quos finis saeculorum devenit* (the Greek reads, εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατάντησεν.) Robertson and Plummer (*Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians,* p. 207), observe: "The temptation to make τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων singular produced corruptions; *in quos finis saeculorum devenit* (Iren. 4, 15, 3); *in quos finis saeculorum obvenit* (Aug. *De cat. rud.* 3)." Is the singular *finis* a corruption, or does it not rather show that Augustine was not satisfied with the plural *fines* as a translation of the Greek

τέλη, and that he felt that the meaning 'consummation,' 'plenitude of time' was better brought out by the singular *finis*? Whenever he quotes this passage in his various works, he consistently uses the singular (cf. for example *In Ps.* 61, 8; *Contra Faustum* 4, 2; 6, 2; 6, 9; 8, 2). I have found but one passage where he uses the plural: *De Utilitate Credendi* 8, *in quos fines saeculorum devenerunt* (which is the reading of the Vulgate!). The exact meaning of *finis saeculorum* is obscure. Robertson and Plummer (p. 207-8) give two interpretations: (1) "The ages are the successive periods in the history of humanity, and perhaps also the parallel periods for different nations and parts of the world. . . . 'The ends' of them implies that each one of them is completed and summed up; and the sum-total has come down to us for whom it was intended. That would seem to mean that we reap the benefit of the experience of all those completed ages." (2) "It may mean that the ends of the ages have reached us and therefore we are already in a new age, which is the final one and will be short. The interpretation will then be that the last act in the drama of time is begun, and therefore the warnings contained in these examples ought at once to be laid to heart. The Day of Judgment is at hand and may come at any moment; it is madness not to be watchful." (The first interpretation has been followed in the translation). As a rule, Augustine follows quite accurately the wording of the version employed, whether it be the Vulgate or the Old Latin version. The discrepancies in the quotations are such as we might expect from a busy writer with a good memory. As this treatise does not deal technically with Holy Scripture, greater verbal accuracy or consistency could hardly be expected.

CHAPTER 4.

(7, 8) *The chief reason for Christ's coming was to show forth the love of God for us, and thereby to excite our love for God: this is the object of all revelation.*

1. **ostenderet:** Bishop Robertson in his article on Augustine in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography,* p. 90, cites this passage together with *Ep.* 177, 15, *gratia Dei quae revelata est per passionem et resurrectionem Christi,* to show that there existed in

Augustine "a tendency to make the atonement not an efficient cause of redemption but a proof (to the elect) of God's love." The love of God for man is, of course, the ultimate cause of our redemption. This love God manifested to us through the Incarnation and death of Christ, for if He did not love us, He would not have sent His son. But this does not imply that the atonement on the part of Christ was *not* the *efficient cause* of our redemption.

1ª. **dilectionem:** strictly speaking, the equivalent of ἀγάπη, spiritual love, as opposed to *amor* (ἔρως), sensual love. Augustine, however, makes no such distinction in the use of these words; in fact he expressly controverts those who do. Cf. *De Civ. Dei* 14, 7, *hoc propterea commemorandum putavi, quia nonnulli arbitrantur aliud esse dilectionem, aliud amorem.*

2. **cum adhuc inimici essemus:** *adhuc* = *etiam tum.* The use of *adhuc* referring to past time is p. c. Cf. S. S. 639, 41. For the Scripture reference, cf. Rom. 5, 8, *commendat autem caritatem suam Deus in nobis, quoniam cum adhuc peccatores essemus, secundum tempus Christus pro nobis mortuus est.*

3. **finis praecepti et plenitudo legis caritas est:** Augustine here combines two different Scripture texts: I Tim. 1, 5, *finis autem praecepti est caritas* and Rom. 13, 10, *plenitudo ergo legis est dilectio.* The following phenomena in patristic quotations are frequently the result of quoting from memory: (1) combinations of different passages; (2) transpositions; (3) renderings according to sense, including changes of syntax, adaptation, use of synonymous terms. Examples of each of these phenomena are to be found in this treatise. These are both favorite texts of Augustine. He cannot insist too much or too often on the necessity of charity; he makes it the pivot upon which the whole catechetical discourse revolves.

4. **quemadmodum ille pro nobis,** etc.: cf. 1 Ioan. 3, 16, *in hoc cognovimus caritatem Dei, quoniam ille animam suam pro nobis posuit; et nos debemus pro fratribus animas ponere.*

5. **quoniam prior dilexit nos:** cf. 1 Ioan. 4, 19, *nos ergo diligamus deum, quoniam deus prior dilexit nos.*

6. **filio suo unico non pepercit,** etc.: cf. Rom. 8, 32, *qui etiam proprio filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum,*

7. **saltem nunc redamare non pigeat:** Reid in his note on Cic. *De Am.* 49, *redamare,* observes that this verb was coined by Cicero to translate *ἀντιφιλεῖν.* (Cf. Aristotle *Nic. Eth.* 1159a, *ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι δ' οὐ ζητοῦσιν*). It does not occur again in classical Latin. For its p. c. use, cf. Ambr. *In Luc.* 5, 75; Symm. *Ep.* 3, 2. For the thought, cf. *Hymn at Lauds, Feast of the Sacred Heart: quis non amantem redamet?;* also Spenser's fine sonnet on the Resurrection: "And that Thy love we weighing worthily, | May likewise love Thee for the same again; | And for Thy sake, that all like dear did'st buy, | With love may one another entertain!"

8. **nulla est enim maior ad amorem invitatio quam praevenire amando:** note hyperbaton: *nulla . . . invitatio.* **ad amorem invitatio:** = *ad amandum invitatio.* In p. c. Latin there is a tendency to substitute nouns for verbs; this usage has been perpetuated in the Romance languages. For the classical usage, cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 34, 82, *sed quadam invitatione ad dolendum.* Aristotle makes friendship consist in loving rather than in being loved. Cf. *Nic. Eth.* 1159a, (*ἡ φιλία*) *δοκεῖ δ' ἐν τῷ φιλεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τῷ φιλεῖσθαι εἶναι*; cf. Sen. *Ep. mor.* 9, 6, *si vis amari, ama;* also Martial, *Epigr.* 6, 11, 10, *ut ameris, ama.* This would seem to be a proverbial expression. M. C. Sutphen, *Further Collection of Latin Proverbs,* in *A. J. P.* 22 (1901), p. 6 quotes Hrosvitha Mon. *Com. Gallicanus,* Act. 1, sc. 7 (M. 137, 982 B): *nam vulgo dicitur: qui dilectis obsequitur, et ipse sit dilectus;* also Ioh. Sar. *Enthet. in Policrat.* (M. 199, 384 A) *regula fida nimis: quisquis amandus, amet.*

9. **impendere . . . rependere:** figure of paronomasia. Many figures that are frequently regarded as distinctive of p. c. authors (particularly of African authors such as Tertullian and Augustine) as for example paronomasia, pleonasm, alliteration, antithesis, assonance, and the use of diminutives, are in reality, characteristic of all periods of Latin. Sandys, lx, keenly observes: "to severe and rigid Atticists like the imitators of Lysias, the fulness and richness of Cicero necessarily appeared turgid and bombastic; and although he was himself in theory a devoted admirer of the Attic orators and of Demosthenes in particular, in practice he departed sufficiently far from that standard to give some colour to the imputation that he was really an Asiatic orator in disguise . . . from Cicero's devoted admirer (Quintilian 12, 10) we learn that his

critics actually 'dared to denounce him as unduly turgid and Asiatic and redundant, as too much given to repetition, and sometimes insipid in his witticisms; and as feeble, diffuse and even effeminate in his composition.'" Munro, 15, writes: "one of the most marked peculiarities of the old Latin writers is their extreme fondness for alliteration, assonances, repetition of the same or similar words, syllables and sounds, often brought together and combined in the most complex fashion. In Latin, as in some other languages, this usage was clearly transmitted from most ancient times, and is not the invention of any one writer." Brock, 144: "Most striking of all is the reappearance of alliteration and assonance (in Fronto). These, the natural elements of poetry in a rude age, die out in most literatures. . . . In Latin, however, they play a far more important part. There would seem, indeed, to have been something about them peculiarly attractive to the Italian ear, and the Latin language, with all its similar case-endings and verbal terminations, lends itself naturally to assonance. Alliteration is widely used by Naevius, Ennius, Plautus and the tragedians." We must not be too hasty therefore in labeling these figures as 'post-classical,' 'African,' etc. While maintaining, however, that the 'tumor Africus' is not confined to Africa, or for that matter, to any special period of Latin literature, it must be admitted that the extravagance of Alexandrian rhetoric was particularly congenial to the fervid African temperament; cf. Appendix.

10. **quod si in ipsis flagitiosis amoribus . . . quos illecebrare moliuntur:** real friendship must be reciprocal. Cf. Arist. *Nic. Eth.* 1155 b *τοὺς δὲ βουλομένους οὕτω τἀγαθὰ εὔνους λέγουσιν, ἂν μὴ ταὐτὸ καὶ πὰρ' ἐκείνου γίνηται · εὔνοιαν γὰρ ἐν ἀντιπεπονθόσι φιλίαν εἶναι.* Even in the case of sinful attachments the lover desires his show of love to be reciprocated. Cf. Arist. *Nic. Eth.* 1159 a *διὸ φαίνονται καὶ οἱ ἐρασταὶ γελοῖοι ἐνίοτε, ἀξιοῦντες φιλεῖσθαι ὡς φιλοῦσιν.* **illecebrare:** (*illecebra* + *are*) p. c. This verb is cited from Augustine only. Cf. Aug. *Serm.* 113, *istam processit in lucem, quae oculos carnis illecebrat.* On the formation of new verbs from substantives and adjectives in p. c. Latin, cf. Cooper, 227, 310.

11. **inchoetur:** there are two forms of this verb: the earlier and classical *incohare* and the later, p. c., form *inchoare,* which Augustine uses here. Cf. Linderbauer's note on *inchoas* in his

edition of the *Regula S. Benedicti,* Prolog. 9. Reid in his note on Cic. *Acad.* 2, 9, *incohasti,* observes that the spelling *inchoasti* is probably a mistake: at any rate it has been perpetuated. In classical Latin *incohare* meant to begin without finishing; in p. c. Latin, it is used synonymously with *incipere.*

12. **familiaritate perfruuntur:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *De Am.* 27, 101, *familiaritate delector. Delector* and *perfruor* are used almost synonymously by Cicero. Cf. *Pis.* 20, 45, *his ego rebus pascor, his delector, his perfruor.*

13. **et si non ita est infirmus, ut haec illum offensio faciat ab omni dilectione frigescere, in ea se tenet, qua non ut fruatur, sed ut consulat diligit:** Barker (p. 11) translates: "and even if he is not so inconstant that the injury in question causes him to cool off entirely from all affection, he confines himself to that degree of affection which involves no joy to himself (*non ut fruatur*) but only concern for the other's welfare" (*sed ut consulat*). True friendship consists in wishing another well for his sake (cf. Aristotle *Nic. Eth.* 1155 b, τῷ δὲ φίλῳ φασὶ δεῖν βούλεσθαι τἀγαθὰ ἐκείνου ἕνεκα; Cic. *De Am.* 9, 31, *sic amicitiam non spe mercedis adducti, sed quod omnis eius fructus in ipso amore inest, expetendam putamus; id.* 27, 100, *amare autem nihil est aliud nisi eum ipsum diligere quem ames, nulla indigentia, nulla utilitate quaesita*). A man, therefore, whose friendship consisted in making his friend's welfare his one concern, far from being *infirmus,* and from restricting his *dilectio,* would be exercizing the perfection of friendship. Moreover *fruatur* and *consulat* are here used absolutely and are the equivalents of abstract nouns or gerunds: *ad fruendum, ad consulendum.* I prefer, therefore, to translate: "he yet restricts himself to that form of affection, which has as its object not enjoyment but utility" (literally: 'calculation'). A friendship based on utility (the τὸ ὠφέλιμον of Aristotle) can hardly be called friendship at all. **infirmus:** = 'weak,' 'unstable,' 'inconstant,' and is used by Cicero in this connection. Cf. Cic. *De Am.* 17, 64, *tamen haec duo levitatis et infirmitatis plerosque convincunt, aut si in bonis rebus contemnunt aut in malis deserunt;* cf. id. 21, 75, *is et infirmus est . . . et ob eam causam in amicitia parum iustus.* **offensio:** the word regularly used by Cicero to designate an offense against friendship. Cf. *De Am.* 24, 88, *est enim varius*

et multiplex usus amicitiae multaeque causae suspicionum offensionumque dantur; id. *Phil.* 8, 8, *sine offensione nostrae amicitiae.* **faciat . . . frigescere:** *faciat . . . ut frigescat.* In classical Latin, *facere* in the meaning of 'to represent,' 'to imagine,' 'to suppose,' takes either the participle or the infinitive (cf. Cic. *De Sen.* 15, 54, *Homerus Laertam colentem agrum facit; Ad Fam.* 15, 18, *facio me alias res agere*) but when, as here, it means 'to cause,' 'to bring about,' it is followed by the subjunctive with (sometimes without) *ut* (cf. *Ad Att.* 4, 8, *statim fac ut sciam*). In p. c. Latin, particularly in Biblical Latin, *facere* in the latter meaning is frequently followed by the infinitive; cf. Matth. 21, 7, *eum desuper sedere fecerunt.* This construction has been perpetuated in the French *faire,* Italian *fare.* Cf. Draeger, 2, 393; Rönsch, 366; Kaulen, 236; S. S. 431, 168. **ab omni dilectione frigescere:** *frigescere* in p. c. Latin is construed with the preposition *a* or *ab* and the ablative by analogy with verbs of separation. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 38, 3, *ab omni ardore frigentibus* (on which see Waltzing's note). For the same image applied to love, cf. Cic. *De Am.* 27, 100, *ex quo exardescit sive amor sive amicitia.*

13ª. **operae pretium:** for the expression, cf. Liv. Praef. *facturusne operae pretium sim.*

14. **animadvertere, quomodo . . . quanto amore exardescat:** figure of anacoluthon. It may be observed that, apart from anacoluthon, an accumulation of dependent interrogatory or exclamatory clauses, as here, though highly idiomatic in Latin, is foreign to English idiom. Cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 1, 3, *in qua difficile est enumerare quot viri quanta scientia quantaque in suis studiis varietate et copia fuerint.*

15. **quamquam et superiores velint se ab inferioribus diligi:** *quamquam . . . velint* = *quamquam volunt.* In classical Latin, *quamquam* usually takes the indicative; in p. c. Latin, however, it is frequently found with the subjunctive. In the Vulgate it occurs with the subjunctive only. Cf. S. S. 553, 313; Kaulen 298. I have avoided translating *superiores* and *inferiores* by 'superiors' and 'inferiors' because of the usual connotation these words have of 'master and servant,' 'governing and obeying.' *Superior* and *inferior* in classical Latin refer to advantages and disadvantages. The advantages or superiorities (the Aristotelian ὑπεροχαί τινες)

which one may have over another are set forth by Cic. in *De Am.* 19, 70, . . . *quod faciendum imitandumque est omnibus, ut, si quam praesentiam virtutis ingeni fortunae consecuti sunt, impertiant ea.*

16. **eorumque in se studioso delectentur obsequio:** even in the case of friendships that depend upon the principle of superiority there must be a certain equality (Cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1157 b, λέγεται γὰρ φιλότης ἰσότης). Hence he who is inferior makes up for this inequality by the vehemence of his affection.

17. **ubi non aestuat indigentiae siccitate, sed ubertate beneficentiae profluit. Ille namque amor ex miseria est, iste ex misericordia:** note figure of chiasmus: *aestuat indigentiae siccitate . . . ubertate beneficentiae profluit.* **ille . . . iste:** = *ille . . . hic* In p. c. Latin the demonstrative pronouns are frequently confused. S. S. 621, 18, observes that among African writers particularly the pronoun *iste* was a *"Lieblingswort."* Augustine here contrasts the friendship (of the inferior person) which is based on *indigentia* and *miseria* with the friendship (of the superior person) which is based on *beneficentia* and *misericordia.* Cicero, while admitting that *amor* may be strengthened by the receiving of a kindly service, stoutly denies that mere utility and expediency can be the basis of a true friendship. Cf. *De Am.* 8, 26, *saepissime . . . illud considerandum videri solet, utrum propter imbecillitatem atque inopiam desiderata sit amicitia;* id. 27, *quapropter a natura mihi videtur potius quam ab indigentia orta amicitia, applicatione magis animi cum quodam sensu amandi, quam cogitatione quantum illa res utilitatis esset habitura;* id. 29, *quamquam confirmatur amor et beneficio accepto,* etc.; id. 27, 100, *amare autem nihil est aliud nisi eum ipsum diligere, nulla indigentia, nulla utilitate quaesita.* Cicero defines *misericordia* in *Tusc.* 4, 8, 18, *misericordia est aegritudo ex miseria alterius iniuria laborantis;* Aug. *De Mor Eccl. cath.* 27, 53, *quis ignoret ex eo appellatam esse misericordiam, quod miserum cor faciat condolentis alieno malo?* Note figure of paronomasia: *miseria . . . misericordia.*

18. **ineffabiliter:** (ἀῤῥήτως) p. c. Cf. Hier. *in Ioel* 2, 12, *et Deum ineffabiliter novi esse clementem;* Aug. *In Ps.* 109, 10, *ineffabiliter delectabit.*

19. **dignatus:** the verb *dignari* is often used in ecclesiastical writers of the condescension shown by a superior to an inferior.

20. **quid autem superius deo iudicante, et quid desperatius homine peccante:** anaphora. Note how the Latin idiom uses the neuter where the English would prefer the masculine or feminine. Cf. Cic. *Pro Milone,* 2, 5, *quid enim nobis duobus, iudices, laboriosius; Ad Att.* 12, 11, *nihil vidi foedius; Tusc. Disp.* 1, 2, *nihil mathematicis inlustrius.*

20ª. **tuendum et subiugandum:** these two verbs hardly go together unless we are to suppose that the expression was meant to be an anticlimax: 'man who had committed himself to be protected—and enslaved.' Is it possible that *tuendum* is a scribal error for *tenendum* which with *subiugandum* would form a hendiadys: 'man who had committed himself to the custody and dominion'?

21. **beatificare:** (*beatus* + *ficare*) p. c. Cf. Ch. 4, N. 10.

22. **curam geri:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9, 311, *ante annos animumque gerens curamque virilem;* 12, 48, *quam pro me curam geris.* This is a favorite expression with Augustine. Cf. *De Doctr. Christ.* 1, c. 24; *Conf.* 6, 5, 8; 9, 8, 17, etc.

23. **qui non proximum, sed longe peregrinantem diligendo factus est proximus:** note figure of antanaclasis which consists in using the same word in different meanings (*non proximum* = 'not near'; *proximus* = 'neighbor'). For the thought, cf. Luc. 15, 13, *et non post multos dies, congregatis omnibus, adolescentior filius peregre profectus est in regionem longinquam;* Luc. 10, 36.

23ª. **mandatum est litteris:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 2, 12, 52, *res omnis singulorum annorum mandabat litteris pontifex maximus.*

24. **totam legem,** etc.: cf. Matth. 22, 40, *in his duobus mandatis universa lex pendet, et prophetae;* cf. Aug. *Serm.* 9, *tota lex in duobus praeceptis est . . . ac duo itaque praecepta, id est ad dilectionem dei et proximi pertinet decalogus.* Augustine began insisting on the importance of the Decalogue in *Serm.* 9, 7, (delivered in 397). The complete presentation of the subject appears in *Contra Faustum.* Again and again in this treatise he emphasizes the fact that the Decalogue is the basis of all true morality,

and that all the commandments may be summed up in the two great commandments of love of God and love of our neighbor.

25. **conscripta:** the editions of Amerbach and Erasmus read *consecrata.*

25ª. **memoriaeque mandata:** from the context it would appear that this phrase is to be translated 'handed down as tradition.' The classical expression for this is *memoriae prodere;* cf. Cic. *Brut.* 3, 3, *si memoriae proditum est poetas nobiles poetarum aequalium morte doluisse. Memoriae mandare,* on the other hand, means 'to impress on the memory,' (*not* 'to learn by heart,' for which the verb *ediscere* was used); cf. Cic. *Pro Mil.* 28, 78, *mandate hoc memoriae, iudices.* In p. c. Latin many of these nice distinctions were blurred, if not entirely lost.

26. **in veteri testamento est occultatio novi, in novo testamento est manifestatio veteris:** note anaphora. This is one of Augustine's memorable sayings, more of which have passed into the common thought and speech of Christendom than is the case with any other Father of the Church. Cf. Aug. *Quaest. in Heptateuch,* 2, 73, *quamquam et in veteri novum lateat et in novo vetus pateat.* This assertion was directed against the Manichaeans who taught that the Old and New Testament were in contradiction. Augustine at this time was just fresh from his work *Contra Faustum,* in which he had refuted the Manichaeans who were ridiculing the apparent contradiction between the Old and the New Testament, the "anthropomorphism" of Exodus, the Decalogue, the resurrection of the body, the semipagan attitude of many Christians, etc. A glance at this treatise will show that Augustine's head is still full of these controversies; in fact there are whole passages where he would seem to be addressing the Manichaeans rather than the *rudes.* Moreover, it must be borne in mind that Augustine himself was for nearly nine years a Manichaean auditor, during which time, as he tells us, he ridiculed the doctrines of the Church especially concerning the Old Testament Scriptures. Cf. Aug. *De Dono Per.* 20, 53, *deo me convertenti ad eam fidem, quam miserrima et furiosissima loquacitate vastabam; Conf.* 3, 18, *haec ego nesciens inridebam illos sanctos servos et prophetas tuos. . . . Occultatio* and *manifestatio* are p. c. as used here in a passive meaning. In p. c. Latin many substantives in

-tio no longer have the meaning of the action itself, but denote rather the result of the action.

27. **carnaliter intelligentes carnales,** etc.: cf. Rom. 8, 5, *qui enim secundum carnem sunt, quae carnis sunt sapiunt; qui vero secundum spiritum sunt, quae sunt spiritus sentiunt.*

28. **spiritales . . . quibus pie pulsantibus:** *spiritalis* is p. c. = 'spiritual' as opposed to 'material.' Cf. 1 Cor. 10, 3, *et omnes eandem escam spiritalem manducaverunt.* Kaulen, 133, makes a distinction in the meanings of *spiritalis* and *spiritualis.* A careful examination of manuscripts, however, has shown that *spiritualis* is only a later spelling of *spiritalis* (found in writings from about 1100 A. D. onwards). Cf. Linderbauer, 194. **quibus pie pulsantibus:** this phrase would seem to be reminiscent of Luc. 11, 9, *pulsate, et aperietur vobis;* Apoc. 3, 20, *ecce sto ad ostium, et pulso.*

29. **adversius:** p. c. This neuter comparative is cited from this treatise only. Cf. N. W. 2, 220.

30. **invidentia:** in classical Latin means the subjective feeling of envy; *invidia,* the objective feeling. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 7, 16, *invidentia utendum est enim docendi causa verbo minus usitato; quoniam invidia non in eo qui invidet solum dicitur, sed etiam in eo cui invidetur.* This classical distinction in the use of *invidia* and *invidentia* is not observed by Augustine. Cf. Ch. 23, N. 19.

31. **mater autem invidentiae superbia est:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *Acad.* 1, 10, 39, *omnium perturbationum arbitrabatur matrem esse immoderatam quamdam intemperantiam.* Reid in his note on this passage cites the following examples: Cic. *De Orat.* 2, 171, *avaritiam si tollere vultis, mater eius est tollenda, luxuries; De Rep.* 3, 23, *iustitiae imbecillitas mater est;* ib. 5, 3, *pax Numae mater huic urbi iuris et religionis fuit; Brut.* 322, *philosophiam matrem omnium bene factorum beneque dictorum.* Augustine insists again and again on the wickedness of pride. Cf. Aug. *In Ioan. Evang. Tract.* 25, 16, *caput omnium morborum superbia est, quia caput omnium peccatorum superbia.*

32. **divinae in nos dilectionis indicium est, et humanae apud nos humilitatis exemplum:** note figure of anaphora. *Humilitas* in the metaphorical sense of 'lowliness' occurs in Cic. (*De Inv.*

1, 56, *saepe virtus et magnificentia . . . plus proficit ad misericordiam commovendam, quam humilitas et obsecratio*). Humility in its Christian meaning was, of course, unknown to the pagans. Cf. Matth. 11, 29, *discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde;* Phil. 2, 3, *nihil per contentionem . . . sed in humilitate;* ib. 2, 8, *humiliavit semetipsum;* 1 Pet. 5, 5, *omnes autem invicem humilitatem insinuate, quia Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam;* cf. Lact. *Inst. Div.* 5, 15.

33. **ut magnus tumor noster maiore contraria medicina sanaretur:** note how Augustine plays on the literal and figurative meaning of *tumor.* The literal meaning of *tumor* is a swelling of of the body (a 'tumor'); the figurative meaning is a swelling of the mind ('pride'). The sovereign antidote for pride is humility. Cf. Aug. *De Doctr. Christ.* 1, 13, *Sicut etiam ille qui medetur vulneri corporis, adhibuit quaedam contraria, sicut frigidum calido, vel humidum sicco . . . sic sapientia Dei hominem curans, seipsum exhibuit ad sanandum, ipsa medicus, ipsa medicina. Quia ergo per superbiam homo lapsus est, humilitatem adhibuit ad sanandum.* For the expression, cf. Sen. *Ad Polyb.* 14, 1, *tam magno vulneri maiora adhibuit remedia.* Augustine sometimes refers to Christ Himself as *medicina, medicus.* Cf. *Conf.* 9, 13, 35, *exaudi me per medicinam vulnerum nostrorum, quae pependit in ligno; Serm.* 88, 13, *aegrotat humanum genus non morbis corporis sed peccatis, ad sanandum descendit omnipotens medicus.* For other references, cf. A. S. Pease, *Medical Allusions in the Works of St. Jerome,* in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* 25 (1914), pp. 74-75. **contraria medicina:** this would seem to be a technical medical term. Cf. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 29, 6, *quem contraria medicina gravi periculo exemerat.*

34. **miseria . . . misericordia:** figure of paronomasia. For the thought, cf. Aug. *Serm.* 13, *cecidit homo miserabiliter, descendit Deus misericorditer.* For the connection between the two words, cf. Aug. *Conf.* 3, 2, *quamquam, cum ipse patitur, miseria, cum aliis compatitur, misericordia dici solet;* also *De Mor. Eccl. cath.* 27, 53, *quis ignoret ex eo appellatum esse misericordiam, quod miserum cor faciat condolentis alieno malo.*

35. **humilis:** p. c. as used here in the meaning of 'humble.' Cf. N. 32 above.

36. **cui loqueris:** = *cum quo loqueris* (cf. Cic. *Att.* 8, 14, 12, *ego tecum tamquam mecum loquor*). *Loqui* with the dative is p. c. and frequently occurs in the Scriptures. Cf. Matth. 13, 34, *sine parabolis non loquebatur eis* (= *cum eis*).

37. **audiendo credat, credendo speret, sperando amet:** figure of anadiplosis. *Audiendo . . . credendo . . . sperando* = *audiens . . . credens . . . sperans.* In p. c. Latin, the gerund is frequently used for the present participle. Cf. S. S. 446, 179. Italian has retained the form of the gerund for the present participle. For the thought, 1 Cor. 13, 13, *nunc autem manent, fides, spes, caritas: tria haec, maior autem horum est caritas.* Cf. Aug. *Ep.* 120, 8, *pia fides sine spe et sine caritate esse non vult; sic igitur homo fidelis debet credere quod nondum videt ut visionem et speret et amet.*

CHAPTER 5.

(9) *Fear of God often precedes love of God. The candidate should be questioned as to his motives in desiring to become a Christian.*

1. **de . . . severitate dei, qua corda mortalium . . . quatiuntur:** *de* here = *ex,* designating the material out of which something is made. For this use of the preposition *de,* which is quite common in p. c. Latin, Löfstedt, 103, cites *Peregr. Aetheriae,* 19, 6, *archiotipa similiter de tali marmore facta.* **corda mortalium:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 123, *movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda;* 330, *et mortalia corda | Per gentis humilis stravit pavor. . . .* In classical Latin, the plural *corda* is confined to poetry.

2. **dei timore:** cf. Ps. 110, 10, *initium sapientiae timor domini.* While not neglecting the importance of a salutary fear, Augustine usually emphasizes love as being the special characteristic of the New Testament. Cf. Aug. *De Mor. Eccl. cath.* 1, 56, *quamquam utrumque in utroque (testamento) sit, praevalet tamen in vetere timor, amor in novo.*

3. **fieri . . . fingere:** Augustine much affects rhyming antitheses. Cf. Wölfflin, *Der Reim in Lateinischen,* in *Archiv* 1 (1884), 350.

4. **quibus causis commotus:** the practice of enquiring into the

candidate's motives for wishing to become a Christian is much older than Augustine. Cf. *Ecclesiastica traditio Clementis,* Cap. 40, (*Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung des zweiten Jahrhunderts* edited by Theodor Schermann, Paderborn, 1914, pp. 54, 55) [*De novitiis ad fidem se convertentibus.*]: *Qui in novam fidem introducendi sunt, priusquam populus advenit, atque causa rei inquiratur, scilicet cur ad fidem sese converterint.*

5. **ad suscipiendam religionem:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *De Domo sua* 41, 107, *in religionibus suscipiendis.* Of course Augustine is using *religio* in quite a different sense from Cicero's *religiones.*

6. **ficto pectore:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2, 107, *prosequitur pavitans, et ficto pectore fatur;* also Aug. *De Util. Cred.* c. 23; *Ep.* 217, c. 4.

7. **approbantes atque laudantes:** = *approbando atque laudando.* For the use of the present participle to express the gerund, cf. Bonnet, 650. Butler in his note on Apul. *Apol.* 81, *fando,* observes that in the latter books of the *Annals* Tacitus combines the present participle and the gerund, showing that even then they were felt to be interchangeable. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14, 47, *trahens et interpretando.*

8. **faciamus eum delectari esse se talem, qualem videri cupit:** = *faciamus ut eum delectet esse talem,* etc. Cf. Ch. 4, N. 13. For the expression, cf. Sallust, *Cat.* 54, 5, *esse quam videri bonus malebat;* Cic. *De Am.* 26, 98, *virtute enim ipsa non tam multi praediti esse quam videri volunt;* Aeschyl. *Sept.* 574, οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει.

9. **aliud . . . quam:** = *aliud . . . atque.* In classical Latin *quam* in a comparison with *alius* is used only when preceded by a negative clause, or by an interrogative. Cf. S. S. 496, 243.

10. **imbuendus est:** = *imbuetur.* For the construction, cf. Ch. 1, N. 9.

11. **blandius et lenius reprehendendo:** the teacher must be tactful and sympathetic. Cf. Aug. *Ep.* 22, 5, *magis docendo quam iubendo, magis monendo quam minando.* Eberhard, in an article entitled *Augustins Schrift De catechizandis Rudibus in ihrer Bedeutung für die Entwicklung und den heutigen Stand der Katechetik,* in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift,* 17 (1906), 284, writes: *Ver-*

rät Augustin mit seinen Andeutungen und Ausführungen hinsichtlich der Form des christlichen Unterrichts ein bewundernswertes Mass altkirchlichen Methodenverständnisses, so ist nicht minder zutreffend, was er über die Persönlichkeit des Katecheten hinsichtlich seiner Gesinnung und Befähigung zu rechter Lehrarbeit ausführt.

12. **facias eum velle:** = *facias ut velit.* Cf. Ch. 4, N. 13.

13. **errorem:** that is, doctrinal error, heresy.

CHAPTER 6.

(10) *The instruction should begin with a narration of God's dealings with man from the creation of the world down to the present period of Church history; they should all be referred to love as their final cause.*

1. **ab huiusmodi miraculorum sive somniorum:** elliptical for: *ab huiusmodi miraculorum sive somniorum via et oraculis.*

1ª. **solidiorem viam et oracula certiora:** chiasmus. After the candidate has been questioned as to his motives (cf. Ch. 5, N. 4) and has given, for example, as his motive a divine admonition or divinely inspired fear, the catechist may take his cue from this answer and enlarge upon God's great care for us, and then proceed to the more solid road of the Scriptures. These two points are developed in the longer catechesis in Ch. 16, S. 24—Ch. 17, S. 27 and Ch. 17, S. 28—Ch. 25, S. 49. It is interesting to note that Augustine followed the same plan in recounting his own life in the *Confessions.* Cf. *Conf.* 11, 2, 2, *quando autem sufficio lingua calami enuntiare omnia hortamenta tua et omnes terrores tuos et consolationes et gubernationes, quibus me perduxisti . . . et olim inardesco meditari in lege tua.* **oracula:** St. Ambrose is fond of applying this word to Scriptural utterances; cf. *De Fuga Saeculi,* 20, *in hymnis vel oraculis.* The Benedictine editors, in their note on this passage, quote Philo's use of χρησμός in the same meaning: *De Profugis* 2, 3, σοφίας δὲ ὄνομα Βαθουὴλ ἐν χρησμοῖς ἄδεται . . . ὃν Ἰσαὰκ ὠνόμασαν οἱ χρησμοί. Most probably Ambrose's use of this word is in imitation of Philo.

2. **misericorditer . . . praerogata sit:** *misericorditer* is p. c. Cf. N. W. 2, 698. Beginning with the third century, the number of adverbs in *-ter* began to multiply apace. **praerogata sit:** *praerogare* in the metaphorical meaning of 'to give voluntarily' is p. c. Cf. Aug. *Serm.* 9, 1, *quam largiter praeroget misericordiam praesenti saeculo.*

3. **antequam scripturis sanctis inhaereret:** "before he began to apply himself to the study of the Sacred Scriptures." Although *inhaerere* does not occur at all in the Vulgate, it is frequently used by the early Christian writers. It is a favorite word in the liturgy. Cf. *Roman Missal, Canon: et fac me tuis semper inhaerere mandatis; Secreta contra Persecutores Ecclesiae: divinis rebus inhaerentes.*

4. **utique demonstrandum est:** Augustine is fond of using *utique* with the gerundive. This may be in imitation of Quintilian, who combines *utique* very frequently with the gerundive. Cf. Mayor's note on Quint. *Inst. orat.* 10, 19, *utique.*

5. **incorporari:** p. c. = *uniri, coniungi in uno corpore.* Cf. Amm. 23, 4, *repagula, quibus incorporati sunt funes;* Aug. *Ep.* 34, 5, *aliud est enim nolle incorporari; aliud iam incorporata divellere.*

6. **seu . . . aut:** this combination of particles is in classical Latin usually confined to poetry. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12, 685, *cum ruit, avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber | proluit, aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas.*

7. **revelationibus:** p. c. Cf. 1 Cor. 1, 7, *exspectantibus revelationem.* Many new abstract nouns in *-tio* were formed in p. c. Latin. Cf. Goelzer, 76.

8. **iter . . . carpere:** for the phrase, cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1, 5, 95, *Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus utpote longum | carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri.*

9. **visibilia . . . invisibilia:** *visibilis* in its active meaning ('one who can see') occurs in Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 11, 146. In its passive meaning of 'visible,' 'that which can be seen,' it is p. c. Ecclesiastical writers, when treating of philosophical and theological subjects, coined a great number of new adjectives in *-bilis* to take

the place of the rather cumbersome paraphrases of classical Latin. For example, *visibile* in classical Latin = *id quod videri potest, quod sub oculos cadit, quod sub adspectum venit,* etc.

10. **neque dormiens, sed vigilans:** the candidate must not expect to be guided in his sleep by dreams (cf. above: *sane ab huiusmodi miraculorum sive somniorum,* etc.) but by the Scriptures which he reads wide awake. Among the popular superstitions in Africa was a belief in dreams. Cf. Aug. *De Rectitudine Cath. Conver.* 7, *prorsus ergo recedendum est a cunctis huiuscemodi observationibus. Mathematici spernendi, auguria horrescenda, somnia contemnenda, quoniam, sicut scriptura testatur, vana sunt. Unde et per Moysen praecipitur: non augurabimini, inquit, non observabitis somnia, nec ad magos declinabitis.* Even among the African Christians, visions and dreams play an important part. Cf. Gibb and Montgomery's note on *Conf.* 6, 13, 23, *ut ei per visum ostenderes aliquid de futuro matrimonio meo, numquam voluisti.*

11. **fecit deus omnia bona:** cf. Gen. 1, 31, *viditque deus cuncta quae fecerat; et erant valde bona.*

12. **causae rationesque:** the catechist, if he wishes to make the teaching of Bible history profitable, should not only narrate events, but should likewise search into their causes. Augustine would, therefore, have the catechist insist on the philosophy of history. For the same conception of history, cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1, 4, *ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio etiam causaeque noscantur.* For the phrase, cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 13, 29, *rationes et causas rerum non tenebant.*

13. **neque agentis aliquid:** = *neque agentis quicquam.* Cf. Ch. 1, N. 21.

14. **fictas poetarum fabulas:** the epithet *ficta* emphasizes without adding any new conception to *fabula.* Cf. Cic. *De Off.* 3, 39, *fictam et commenticiam fabulam.* The study of mythology held a prominent place in Roman elementary education. Cf. Wilkins, 68. For Augustine's acquaintance with mythology, cf. Becker, 147.

15. **voluptatem:** ed. Amer. reads, *voluntatem.*

16. **boni qui habentur atque appellantur grammatici:** in speaking of the *grammatici* as *boni* Augustine seems to have had in mind the definition of an orator given by Cato in his treatise *De Oratore: vir bonus dicendi peritus,* and popularized by Quintilian *Inst. orat.* 12, 1, 1, *sit ergo nobis orator, quem constituimus, is qui a M. Catone definitur vir bonus dicendi peritus.* The idea that an *orator* or a *grammaticus* must be a man of character, if he is to sway the minds of men, was always insisted upon by Greek and Roman rhetoricians in their disputes with the philosophers. Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1, 2, 4; 2, 1, 5; Cic. *De Orat.* 2, 20, 85, *si vir bonus mihi videbitur esse.* Cicero, however, does not deny that at times a man of bad character may be eloquent. Cf. *De Inv.* 1, 3, 4. Christian writers, of course, followed the pagan rhetoricians in emphasizing the importance of character and good morals on the part of the *orator* or *grammaticus.* Cf. Hier. *Ep.* 69, 8, *sed futurus pastor ecclesiae talis eligitur, ad cuius comparationem recte grex ceteri nominentur. Definiunt rhetores oratorem: 'vir bonus, dicendi peritus.' Ante vita, sic lingua inreprehensibilis quaeritur, ut merito suscipiatur. Perdit enim auctoritatem docendi, cuius sermo opere destruitur.* For a thorough discussion of the origin of this definition, cf. Colson's note on Quint. *Pr.* 9, *oratorem autem instituimus illum perfectum, qui esse nisi vir bonus non potest;* Gwynn, 230-341. **grammatici:** there were three grades in Roman education. The first, in which the elementary branches were taught, was presided over by the *primus magister* or *ludi magister;* the second, in which grammar and rhetoric were taught, had as its head the *grammaticus;* and the third, a sort of postgraduate course in rhetoric and philosophy, was in charge of the *rhetoricae magister.* Cf. Boissier, 1, 171; Wilkins, 37. **qui habentur atque appellantur:** for the phrase cf. Cic. Tusc. *Disp.* 5, 3, 7, *sapientes et habebantur et nominabantur.*

17. **ad aliquam utilitatem referre conantur:** 'they strive to make utility the standard.' *Referre* in this meaning is found frequently in Cicero, particularly in his philosophical works, as Wilkins observes in his note on *De Orat.* 2, 51, 107, *nihil ad utilitatem suam rettulisse.* Cf. also Reid's note on Cic. *De Am.* 9, 32.

18. **saginae saecularis:** 'worldly gain,' 'superfluity.' For the

use of *sagina* in this meaning, cf. Aug. *Conf.* 2, 4, 9, *et ego furtum facere volui et feci nulla conpulsus egestate nisi penuria et fastidio et sagina iniquitatis.* The image was suggested most probably by Ps. 72, 7, *prodiit quasi ex adipe iniquitas eorum.* **saecularis:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'worldly,' 'sinful,' 'temporal,' as opposed to the spiritual. Cf. 2 Tim. 2, 4, *negotiis saecularibus.*

19. **redditione:** p. c. as used here in the meaning of 'statement.' Cf. Goelzer, 246.

20. **non . . . asseramus:** = *ne . . . asseramus.* The use of *non* for *ne* with the hortatory subjunctive occurs frequently in p. c. Latin. Cf. S. S. 478, 216.

21. **relicto narrationis tractu . . . in nodos difficilioris disputationis excurrat:** it is just possible that *difficilioris* should be construed with *nodos* (*nodos difficiliores*) instead of with *disputationis:* first, because the comparison is as between *narratio* and *disputatio,* not as between various grades of *disputatio*; secondly, because *nodus difficilis* is a proverbial expression. Cf. Cic. *Ad. Fam.* 8, 11, 1, *incideramus in difficilem nodum;* cf. Otto, 244.

CHAPTER 7.

(11) *The candidate should be instructed in the dogmas of the resurrection of the body, of the last judgment, of eternal happiness for the good, eternal misery for the wicked. He should likewise be warned against temptations, and taught to place his trust in God.*

1. **resurrectionis:** p. c. Cf. Ioan. 5, 29, *in resurrectionem vitae.*

2. **vanas irrisiones infidelium:** the dogma of the resurrection of the body was particularly repugnant to the pagans and to various sects. Cf. Act. 17, 33, *cum audissent autem resurrectionem mortuorum, quidam quidem irridebant;* cf. Origenes, *Contra Celsum* 7, 36. Most probably Augustine has the Manichaeans in mind here. Cf. Aug. *in Ps.* 88, 2, *in nulla re tam vehementer, tam pertinaciter, tam obnixe et contentiose contradicitur fidei Christianae sicut de carnis resurrectione.*

3. **bonitate in bonos, severitate in malos, veritate in omnes:** note figure of asyndeton. For the Scripture reference, cf. Rom. 11, 22, *vide ergo bonitatem et severitatem Dei; in eos quidem, qui ceciderunt severitatem; in te autem bonitatem Dei, si permanseris in bonitate, alioquin et tu excideris.* **severitate . . . veritate:** figure of paronomasia. Cf. Cypr. *Ep.* 76, 2, *conservantes firmiter dominica mandata . . . in defendenda veritate constantiam, in disciplinae severitate censuram.*

4. **iustorum:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of the 'just.' Cf. Eccles. 3, 17, *iustum et impium iudicabit deus.*

4ª. **cum desiderio:** for the thought, cf. Aug. *In Epistulam Ioannis* 4, 6, *tota vita christiani boni sanctum desiderium est;* id. *Serm,* 205, 2, *in hac peregrinatione unius patriae desiderio suspiremus;* 4, 9, *Christianus intelligit sibi eremum esse istum mundum, intelligit in peregrinatione se vivere, patriam desiderare.*

5. **tentationes:** used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'temptations.' Cf. Iac. 1, 2, *cum in tentationes varias incideritis.*

6. **scandala:** used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'scandals.' Cf. Matth. 18, 7, *vae mundo a scandalis.*

7. **gentiles:** p. c. Cf. 1 Cor. 12, 13, *sive Iudaei, sive gentiles.*

8. **Iudaeos:** Jews settled in great numbers in Africa after the destruction of Jerusalem. They were extremely hostile to Christianity and were responsible for many of the gross libels that were circulated about the Christians.

9. **areae dominicae paleam:** cf. Matth. 3, 12, *cuius ventilabrum in manu sua; et permundabit aream suam; et congregabit triticum suum in horreum, paleas autem comburet igni inextinguibili.*

10. **perversorum genera . . . pravae opiniones . . . qui statuit usque in finem ista permittere:** *perversus* and *pravus* are strong adjectives in Scripture. Cf. Philip. 2, 15, *in medio nationis pravae, et perversae.* In Ch. 8, S. 12, Augustine uses the same phrase adverbially: *quod perverse ac prave opinati sunt.* **qui statuit,** etc.: cf. Matth. 13, 30, *sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem, et in tempore messis dicam messoribus: colligite primum zizania et alligate ea in fasciculos ad comburendum, triticum autem congregate in horreum meum.*

11. **perversae turbae:** Augustine is here referring to the Donatists. The Donatist schism began in 311 and flourished until the Conference at Carthage in 411. It was condemned at the Council of Arles, August 1, 314, and by the civil law in the very year in which this treatise was most probably written, 405. Cf. *Cod. Theod.* 16, 6, 4. By the *turbae* here Augustine may have reference to the 'troops' of the fanatical Circumcelliones whose vices and cruelties against the Catholic party were unspeakable. They had more than merited the harsh epithets which Augustine usually employs when speaking of them. Cf. *Ep.* 185, 15, *perditorum hominum dementissimi greges.* For other examples, see Professor J. H. Baxter's masterly article *The Martyrs of Madaura, A. D. 180,* in *J. Th. S.* 26 (1924), 30. For the relations of St. Augustine with Donatism, cf. Tillemont, Vol. 6; *Donatism* by Dom John Chapman in *C. E.* 4, 121; Batiffol 1, 125; Monceaux, Vol. 7, *Saint Augustin et le Donatisme.*

12. **corporaliter:** p. c. Cf. Paul. *Dig.* 41, 2, 1, *servus corporaliter pignori datus.* The word occurs several times in Augustine.

13. **conversationis** (*ἀναστροφή*): here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'converse,' 'manner of life' ('*Lebenswandel*'). Cf. Philip. 3, 20, *nostra autem conversatio in caelis est.* The various other meanings of this word are discussed by Linderbauer, 144, *et sq.*

14. **fornicatoribus:** p. c. Cf. Tert. *De Pudicitia,* 1.

15. **spectaculorum:** Augustine, like all the early Christian writers, was strongly opposed to the stage, because of its licentious character. Cf. Tatian. *Adv. Graecos* 22; Tert. *De Spectac.* 18, 10, *saepe censores nascentia cum maxime theatra destruebant, moribus consulentes, quorum scilicet periculum ingens de lascivia providebant;* id. *Apol.* 38; id. *Idol.* 7; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 3, 11; Cypr. *De Spectac.* 4; Aug. *De Civ. Dei* 1, 32, *ludi scaenici, spectacula turpitudinum et licentia vanitatum, non hominum vitiis sed deorum vestrorum iussis Romae instituti sunt.* The theatre was extremely popular in Africa. Cf. Bouchier, 40.

16. **remediorum sacrilegorum alligatoribus:** the ordinary meaning of *sacrilegus* is 'profane,' 'impious,' 'sacrilegious.' Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 15, *certe sacrilegi de vestris semper adprehenduntur;*

but just as *sacrilegus* sometimes means 'a worshipper of idols' (cf. Cypr. *De Aleat.* 7) and *sacrilegium,* 'idolatry' (cf. Rom. 2, 22, *qui dicis non moechandum, moecharis; qui abominaris idola, sacrilegium facis*), so here, I believe, *sacrilegorum* had best be translated 'idolatrous'; and this the more so because in Aug. *Serm.* 21, 4, occurs the phrase, *remediorum diabolicorum alligator,* in which *diabolicorum* is synonymous with *sacrilegorum,* for, according to the early Fathers, the worship of idols was instigated by demons; hence 'idol-worship' and 'demon-worship' were practically synonymous. Cf. Ch. 19, n. 30. Watson, 289, remarks that, according to Harnack, *sacrilegium* = *idololatria* commonly in Sulpicius Severus. **alligatoribus:** the word *alligator* originally meant 'one who binds up vines.' (Cf. Col. *De Re Rust.* 4, 13, 1, *impedationem . . . sequitur alligator, cuius officium est, ut rectam vitem producat in iugum.*) But just as *alligatura,* which originally meant 'a band,' 'tie,' 'ligature' (cf. Col. *Arb.* 8, 3, *infra insitionem et alligaturam*) came to mean 'what one binds on,' that is, a 'charm' or 'amulet' (cf. Eccl. 6, 31, *decor enim vitae est in illa, et vincula illius alligatura salutaris;* Filast. *Div. Hereseon, Lib.* 21, 3, *alligaturas et tutamina suo portabant et portant in corpore*), so *alligator* came to mean, 'one who binds on charms,' that is, 'a wearer of charms.' Cf. Aug. *Serm.* 21, 4 (*Editio* Denis, Migne 46), *remediorum diabolicorum alligator.* The word likewise occurs in *De Civ. Dei,* but in the meaning of 'one who binds others with chains' (cf. 12, 26, *inclusores alligatoresque nostros*). In classical Latin verbal substantives in *-tor* and *-trix* express a quality inherent in the person. For example, *orator* is not one who happens to be speaking at some particular moment, but one whose profession is oratory. There are, of course, a few Latin substantives that approximate the English meaning, such as: *debitor, creditor, accusator, sponsor,* but in p. c. Latin the use of words in *-tor* and *-trix* was increasingly frequent, the nice classical distinction having been lost.

17. **praecantatoribus, mathematicis:** *praecantator* occurs only in Augustine. Cf. Aug. *Tract. in Ioann. Ev.* 7, 7, *non quando nobis dolet caput, curramus ad praecantatores.* **mathematicis:** 'astrologers.' The belief in astrologers is frequently referred to by the Roman historians and satirists. It was of them that Tacitus (*Hist.* 1, 22)

wrote, *urgentibus mathematicis . . . genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper, et retinebitur.* Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1, 11, 2; 2, 17, 17; Iuv. *Sat.* 6, 553; Suet. *Tib.* 36. The Africans in particular were much given to superstitious practices and magical arts. Cf. Aug. *Conf.* 4, 3. In the break-up of the official cults during the first century after Christ there was a great influx of Orientalism to all the Western Provinces, and this included both religious mysticism and magic. These magicians fall into three main classes: (1) Astrologers (*mathematici*), including fortune-tellers and compilers of horoscopes (*genethliaci*); (2) Quacks (*iatrosophistae*), who professed to make cures by incantations and charms; (3) Diviners and clairvoyants. Our principal sources for magicians and magic are the *Apology* of Apuleius and the *Confessions* and *De Civitate Dei* of Augustine. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq; Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei* (Giessen, 1908); Hubert, Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des antiq.* s. v. *magia.*

18. **divinatoribus:** p. c. Add this example to *T. L. L.* These "diviners" were supposed to be able to recover lost property, detect robberies, read thoughts, and discover springs of water. One of the most famous diviners of the fourth century was Albicerius, to whom Augustine refers in *Contra Academicos* 1, 17.

19. **et suadere et persuadere:** the Latins were fond of setting simple and compound verbs side by side. Cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* 18, 38, 2, *tu, quod ipse tibi suaseris idem mihi persuasum putato;* Apul. *Apol.* 93, *suasi, inquam, ac denique persuasi.* For other instances, cf. Butler's note on Apul. *Apol.* 15, 22, *iurganti . . . obiurganti.*

20. **cives:** good Christians are the future 'citizens of heaven.' Cf. Eph. 2, 19, *ergo iam non estis hospites, et advenae, sed estis cives sanctorum, et domestici dei.*

21. **caelestis Ierusalem:** cf. Hebr. 12, 22, *sed accessistis ad Sion montem, et civitatem dei viventis, Ierusalem caelestem.*

22. **ne spes eius in homine ponatur . . . iustificemur: ne spes,** etc.: cf. Ps. 77, 7, *ut ponant in Deo spem suam.* **iustificemur:** p. c. Rom. 5, 1, *iustificati ergo ex fide.* For Augustine's doctrine of justification, see Mausbach, 2, 208.

23. **iustificatore:** coined by Augustine. Cf. Aug. *De Spir. et Litt.* 26, *indigere se gratia iustificatoris.*

24. **ille qui nos audit,** etc.: for the thought, cf. Tert. *De Paen.* 10, *cum te ad fratrum genua protendis, Christum contrectas, Christum exoras. Aeque illi cum super te lacrimas agunt, Christus patitur, Christus patrem deprecatur.*

25. **moribus et scientia proficere coeperit:** *moribus et scientia* may be taken literally or as a hendiadys: 'in mental and moral qualities' (cf. Cic. *De Or.* 1, 11, 48, *scientia . . . ac moribus*). *Proficere* is frequently used by Seneca to designate moral progress, and later on, by Tertullian, and Cyprian. Cf. Watson, 280; Souter observes in his *Ambrosiaster* (p. 129), that in that work *proficere* is sometimes used of growth in a bad direction. Cf. also Souter, *Pelagius,* p. 109.

26. **in illo et proper illum:** polyptoton.

27. **qui eum dilexit inimicum:** cf. Rom. 5, 9, *Christus pro nobis mortuus est . . . si enim cum inimici essemus, reconciliati sumus deo per mortem filii eius, multo magis reconciliati, salvi erimus in vita ipsius.*

CHAPTER 8.

(12) *Of the method to be followed in dealing with those who have had a liberal education: teach without seeming to do so; discuss the books (canonical or other) which influenced them in making their decision. Misunderstanding of books, even of those inspired, has been the cause of much error.*

1. **catechizandus venerit:** the gerundive here is equivalent to the future passive participle and is used to express purpose. For the construction, cf. Hier. *Ep.* 22, 32, 3, *qui alendus venerat, alit* ('he who had come to be fed, does the feeding'); cf. Hilarius, *Hymn.* 1, *fertur infans occulendus* ('the babe is borne away to be hidden'). Cf. Ch. 1, N. 9.

2. **liberalibus doctrinis excultus:** it is interesting to note that this is the only class of *rudes* that Augustine considers educated. With this class he contrasts those who come from the ordinary

schools of rhetoric. Cf. Ch. 9, N. 1. **liberalibus doctrinis excultus:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 2, 4, *excultus doctrina.* For what these studies consisted in, cf. Cic. *De Or.* 3, 32, 127, *nec solum has artis, quibus liberales doctrinae atque ingenuae continerentur, geometriam, musicam, litterarum cognitionem et poetarum;* Seneca, *Ep.* 88, 2, *quare liberalia studia dicta sint vides; quia homine libero digna sunt.*

3. **sacramentorum:** here refers to the initiatory ceremonies of the catechumenate, which consisted of exorcism, the signing with the cross upon the forehead, the laying on of hands, and the administration of salt. Cf. Duchesne, *Christian Worship,* 295-297. There is perhaps no word in ecclesiastical Latin that has had so many significations and shades of meaning as *sacramentum.* In classical Latin it had the general meaning of 'a solemn obligation, pledge, or oath.' In the Scriptures, particularly in the Old Latin Version, it is used to translate μυστήριον in the meanings of (1) 'a sacred ordinance, doctrine, or fact' (2) 'a solemn obligation, pledge, or oath.' It has, therefore, in its ecclesiastical use the general sense of 'a religious mystery' (cf. Ch. 19, N. 34). For its various significations prior to Augustine, cf. Lightfoot, *Ignatius,* 1, 51; Watson, 225; D'Alès, *La Théologie de Saint Cyprien* (Paris, 1922, pp. 86-89); J. B. Poukens, *Sacramentum,* in *Bulletin d'ancienne Littérature et d'Archéologie chrétienne* 16 (1912), 10; E. De Backer, *Sacramentum le mot et l'idée représentée par lui dans les oeuvres de Tertullien* (Louvain, 1911); *Pour l'histoire du mot "Sacramentum":* 1. *Les Anténicéens par* E. De Backer, J. Poukens, F. Lebacqz et J. De Ghellinck (*Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense:* Paris, 1924). Cf. also H. F. Stewart, *Thirteen Homilies of St. John,* p. 123; Sanday and Headlam, *Commentary on Romans,* p. 13; Gibb and Montgomery's note on *Conf.* 4, 2, 3, *foeda illa sacramenta* (p. 80). The word has even a wider range of meaning in Augustine than in Tertullian or Cyprian. J. De Ghellinck, *op. cit.,* 16, observes: *C'est ainsi que sous la plume d'Augustin, lequel cependant a esquissé avec tant de fermeté et de précision les grandes lignes de notre théologie sacramentaire, le mot revêt une incroyable diversité de sens, en dehors de celui de rite, dans lesquels semble se complaire la pensée si nuancée du grand évêque. Le sens exact qu'il faut donner à chacun des exemples que contiennent les*

dix gros volumes de ses oeuvres n'est pas aisé à déterminer. . . . Les sympathies d'Augustin pour le symbolisme et pour l'explication allégorique le prédisposaient, du reste, à l'emploi fréquent du mot sacramentum. He defines *sacramentum* in *Ep.* 138, 7, (*signa*) *cum ad res divinas pertinent, sacramenta appellantur.* In addition to the meaning in which it is used in the present passage, it may refer to the Lord's Prayer and the Creed (cf. *Serm.* 228); the chrism and imposition of hands (cf. *De Bapt. c. Don.* 5, 28); Old Testament institutions generally (cf. *Contra Faustum,* 19, 16, *sacramenta Legis et Prophetarum*). Augustine defines *sacramentum* in its strict sense of a sacrament of the Church in his *Tract. in Ioan. Ev.* 80, 3, *accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tamquam visibile verbum.* He uses the word in this restricted sense in *De Doctr. Christ.* 3, 13, *sicuti est baptismi sacramentum, et celebratio corporis et sanguinis Domini; Serm.* 228, 3, *de sacramento autem altaris sacri, quod hodie viderunt, nihil adhuc audierunt.* Cf. J. Hymnen, *Die Sakramentlehre Augustins in Zusammenhang dargestellt und beurteilt* (Bonn, 1905).

4. **participationem:** p. c. Cf. Goelzer, 73.

5. **discutere:** in the meaning (as here) of 'to discuss' is p. c. Cf. Goelzer, 255.

6. **odiose:** = 'wearisomely,' 'annoyingly'; not so strong as our 'hatefully,' 'odiously.'

6ª. **inculcando:** literally: 'by treading in,' or as we should say: 'by driving, or hammering, in.' Cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 1, 28, 127, *quod tradatur vel etiam inculcetur, si qui forte sit tardior.*

7. **perstringere:** 'to touch on lightly'; a favorite word with Cicero. Cf. *Pro Rosc.* 32, 91, *leviter transire ac tantum modo perstringere unam quamque rem.*

7ª. **rudibus indoctisque:** *rudis* is not used here in its technical, liturgical meaning of 'a candidate for admission to the catechumenate' (cf. Ch. 1, N. 6), but in its ordinary meaning of 'rude,' 'uneducated.' Cf. Tert. *Scorp.* 1, *nam quod sciunt multos sim-*

plices ac rudes; Apul. *Apol.* 39, *utrum igitur putas philosopho non secundum Cynicam temeritatem rudi et indocto.*

8. **ut etsi quid novit . . . non tamquam a doctore audiat:** in keeping with a sound pedagogical principle, which was proverbial among the Romans: not to teach a man what he already knows. Cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 880, *doctum doces;* Hier. *Ep.* 53, 7, *stultissimum quippe est, docere quod noverit ille quem doceas.*

9. **nec . . . inutiliter:** figure of litotes. For the phrase, cf. Quint. *Inst. orat.* 2, 4, 18, *non inutiliter.*

10. **canonicis:** from κανών = 'a straight rod' or measuring line; hence κανονικός = 'regular,' which in its Latin transliteration becomes *canonicus.* In this meaning it occurs in Vitruvius, 1, 1, 8. Canonical, as applied to the Scriptures, means the books recognized as belonging to the list (canon) of Sacred Scripture, and hence constituting 'the rule' of faith. Augustine in his works constantly refers to the importance of reading the canonical books only; cf. *De Doctr. Christ.* 2, 8, *erit igitur divinarum Scripturarum solertissimus indagator, qui primo totas legerit, notasque habuerit, et si nondum intellectu, iam tamen lectione, dumtaxat eas quae appellantur canonicae. Nam ceteras securius leget fide veritatis instructus, ne praeoccupent imbecillem animum, et periculosis mendaciis atque phantasmatis eludentes praeiudicent aliquid contra sanam intelligentiam. In canonicis autem Scripturis, Ecclesiarum catholicarum quamplurium auctoritatem sequatur; inter quas sane illae sint, quae apostolicas Sedes habere et Epistolas accipere meruerunt.* Augustine insisted so much on this point because he knew how much harm had been done by the Manichaeans who read books *not* in the canon of the Scriptures. The Synod of Hippo (canon 36. Hefele II, 400), held in 393 A. D., prescribed that none but the canonical Scriptures should be read in church.

11. **tractatorum:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of a 'commentator' or 'expounder' of Christian doctrine. Cf. Goelzer, 261. Note how Augustine distinguishes between the inspired writers and this latter class.

12. **diligentiae:** = 'close attention to detail,' not 'industry.'

Just as *diligenter* = 'carefully,' 'critically,' or 'diligently' (in its Elizabethan meaning).

13. **altitudinis . . . humilitatem:** figure of paronomasia. *Altitudinis* is here a genitive of definition. Augustine speaking of Holy Scripture in *De Doctr. Christ.* 4, 6, writes: *quanto videtur humilior, tanto altius non ventositate, sed soliditate transcendit.* Augustine's first impressions of Holy Scripture, gained from the Old Latin version, were unfavorable, its crude diction and homely construction grating on his ear. It must be borne in mind that the Old Latin version was made for the lower, uneducated classes, from which a great number of the Christians came. It had therefore to be written in the *sermo plebeius.* Cf. Sanday, Turner, and Souter, Introd. xx: "The commencements of Christian Latin were made for the simpler and poorer Christians, in circles where any tradition of the purity of classical Latin, if it ever existed, had been entirely obliterated." Augustine's reaction from reading the Scriptures is thus described in *Conf.* 3, 5, 9, *institui animum intendere in scripturas sanctas, et videre quales essent . . . visa est mihi indigna, quam Tullianae dignitati compararem.* This simplicity and homeliness in the language of Scripture was one of the principal factors in prejudicing pagans against Christianity. Cf. Lact. *Inst. Div.* 5, 1, *haec imprimis causa est, cur apud sapientes et doctos et principes huius saeculi, scriptura sancta fide careat, quod prophetae communi ac simplici sermone, ut ad populum, sunt locuti. Contemnuntur itaque ab eis qui nihil audire vel legere nisi expolitum ac disertum volunt, nec quicquam inhaerere animis eorum potest, nisi quod aures blandiori sono permulcet.* With Augustine's conversion there came to him a new conception of the functions of language and style, that of bringing to all men the truths of the Gospel. If this one supreme object could be attained, he was more than willing to sacrifice elegance, and even correctness, of diction. (Cf. *De Doctr. Christ.* 4, 10, *melius est reprehendant nos grammatici, quam non intelligant populi;* id. 3, 3, *plerumque loquendi consuetudo vulgaris utilior est significandis rebus quam antiquitas literata;* id. *Enarr. in Ps.* 123, 8, *saepe enim verba non Latina pono, ut vos intelligatis*). In the language of Scripture Augustine found a vehicle of expression familiar to Christians of the lowest station upon whom the beauty of classical Latin would have been lost. Augustine moreover

imitated the language and style of Scripture for the reason that not only the subject-matter but the very form of Scripture, its idioms and syntax, however much at variance with classical usage, were sacred in his eyes, inasmuch as they were the inspired word of God. For this reason, that he considered the language of the Old Latin version to be inspired, St. Augustine held out for a long time before accepting Jerome's revision (cf. *Ep.* 121, 28; *De Doctr. Christ.* 2, 15, 22). Moreover Augustine was quick to see that classical Latin with all its majesty and hard brilliancy was stiff and unspiritual, the language of soldiers and jurists, but not the language of the soul; while the Latin of the Scriptures, saturated with Hebraic emotion and imagery, was the proper vehicle to convey "the outpourings of mystical devotion, to catch the elusive quality of shadowy moods, to enter into the subtleties of psychological analysis." Augustine, therefore, thanks to Holy Scripture, was able to give the Latin language a soul. Harnack, in *Augustin: Reflexionen und Maximen* (1922), 5, writes, *Erst er hat aus der lateinischen Sprache ein seelisches Instrument gemacht und ihr und deren Töchtersprachen, ja auch den germanischen, die christliche Seele und die Rede des Herzens gegeben.* Cf. Misch, 367, *aber während bei den heidnischen Rhetoren die ererbte Sprachkunst ein bloss sinnliches formales Dasein fristete, ist bei den christlichen Bischöfen, die auch Rhetoren sein können, ein realer Fond von starker Leidenschaft vorhanden, der, wenn er auch im allgemeinen keine gründlich neue Kunst zu erzeugen vermochte, doch imstande war, den tot aufgenommenen Formen ein noch heute nachzuempfindendes Leben zu sichern.* Cf. Bevan, 139, "The language which Augustine found in his Latin Psalter gave a vehicle of expression to the emotions of the New Life, emotions so elementary and so profound, such as was not offered by any language of the approved academic pattern. And language drawn directly from the Biblical writings, or caught from their influence, came instinctively to his lips as his soul rose in confession or adoration or prayer." Cf. the chapter *Greek and Christian Rhetoric* in Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures* (1888); also Chapter 4, *Intellectual Interests of the Latin Fathers,* in Henry Osborn Taylor's *The Mediaeval Mind* (London, 1911), 1, 61; also Chap. 8, *Christian Prose,* in *The classical Heritage of the Middle Ages,* 198 (by the same author: New York, 1901).

14. **per hoc:** the causal, or instrumental, use of the preposition *per* with neuter pronouns and adjectives is p. c. Cf. S. S. 406, 134.

15. **tornatioris:** this comparative first occurs in this treatise.

15ª. **exprimendum de illo est ut indicet quem maxime legerit:** note the use of pleonasm to secure emphasis: 'what author he has read most must be *carefully* ascertained by us.' This form of pleonasm is imitated from Cicero; cf. *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 36, 88, *illud excutiendum est ut sciatur, quid sit carere,* which must be translated: 'the meaning of the expression *to lack* must be thoroughly examined.'

16. **catholicum:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'catholic,' 'orthodox.' Cf. Prud. *Steph.* 11, 24. On the early use of this word, cf. Bishop Lightfoot, *Ignatius,* 2, 310.

17. **ex hac vita emigrarunt . . . opusculorum: ex hac vita emigrarunt:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *De Leg.* 2, 19, 48, *qui e vita emigrarit.* **opusculorum:** in classical Latin *opusculum* was used of a small work. Cf. Cic. *Parad. Prooem.* 5, *accipies igitur hoc parvum opusculum lucubratum his iam contractioribus noctibus;* Hor. *Ep.* 1, 19, 35, *scire velis mea cur ingratus opuscula lector | laudet.* Hugo Landwehr in his article *Studien über das antike Buchwesen,* in *Archiv* 6 (1889), 251-53, writes: *Das Deminutiv opusculum kann sich selbstverständlich nicht auf grössere Werke beziehen, sondern nur auf kleinere Schriften.* I believe, however, that *opusculum,* like many other diminutives, had lost its diminutive force in p. c. Latin; (cf. Ch. 2, Note 8). In *De Dono Perseverantiae,* 20, Augustine, referring to his *Confessions,* which is surely not a small work, writes: *quid autem meorum opusculorum frequentius et delectabilius innotescere potuit quam libri Confessionum mearum?* And again in *Retract.* Prologus, 3: *inveniet enim fortasse quomodo scribendo profecerim, quisquis opuscula mea ordine quo scripta sunt, legerit.*

18. **humana infirmitas:** for the phrase, cf. Tac. *Agric.* 13, *natura tamen infirmitatis humanae.* The more usual phrase in Christian writers is *humana fragilitas.*

19. **minus . . . aberrantes a veritate:** *minus* = *non.* The use of the forms *minus* and *minime* to express simple negation becomes

very common in p. c. Latin. Cf. S. S. 639, 40. **aberrantes a veritate:** for the phrase, cf. Iac. 5, 19, *si quis ex vobis erraverit a veritate.*

19ª. **abditiora:** = *occultiora.* The comparative and superlative of *abditus* do not occur in classical Latin. Add this reference to those cited in Neue-Wagener, p. 2: Aug. *Conf.* 5, 5, 8; 10, 10, 17. The superlative is cited from Augustine only: *Enchir.* 16.

20. **praesumtoribus:** p. c. Cf. Goelzer, 50.

21. **haeresim:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning. Cf. Goelzer, 210.

22. **sanissime:** this superlative is first found in this treatise.

23. **seipsa veritas habet:** = *seipsam veritas habet.* In classical Latin the nominative is as a rule employed only when *ipse* stands before the other pronoun, or when it stands after *per.* Cf. Lane, 2376; Madvig, 487, b; also Mayor's note on Cicero, *Phil.* 2, 46, 118, *ego de me ipse profiteor.*

24. **quis non humanae infirmitati ad corrigendum paratae libenter ignosceret?:** *corrigere* is here used intransitively like the English verbs 'reform,' 'amend.' In classical Latin this absolute use of verbs, which ordinarily were reflexives, was restricted to the *sermo castrensis,* where brevity was required. In p. c. Latin there is a tendency to drop the reflexive, particularly in the case of the verbs *corrigere* and *conferre.* Even in this treatise, however, Augustine inserts the reflexive (cf. Ch. 19, S. 32: *noverat quidem, quod non se correcturi essent*). For the absolute use of this verb, cf. Ambr. *De Inst. Virg.* 4, 31, *qui secutus es errantem, sequere corrigentem.* Cf. Dr. Souter's notes on *corrigere* in his study of *Ambrosiaster,* p. 96; also *Pelagius,* p. 98; K. S. 1, 43. For an illustration of Augustine's tolerance and charity towards heretics and schismatics who were in good faith, cf. *Ep.* 43 (written in 398): *sed qui sententiam suam, quamvis falsam atque perversam, nulla pertinaci animositate defendunt, praesertim quam non audacia praesumptionis suae pepererunt, sed a seductis atque in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, quaerunt autem cauta sollicitudine veritatem, corrigi parati, cum invenerint; nequaquam sunt inter haereticos deputandi.* Later on, however, he favored coercion as being the only possible way of dealing with the Donatists. Cf. *Ep.* 93 (written in 408).

25. **animositate:** p. c. Cf. Goelzer, 102.

26. **multi multa:** figure of repetition. This figure was very popular in classical Latin, particularly with *omnis* and *multus*. Cf. S. S. 670, 61.

27. **concisa communionis unitate:** *communio* is here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'being in communion with the Church.' Cf. Goelzer, 239. Just two years prior to the writing of this treatise (403), Augustine had composed his famous treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiae* against the Donatists.

28. **non idiota, ut aiunt:** by *idiota* here Augustine means not 'a layman,' in the sense of one who is without technical knowledge of a special subject as Fausset (note, p. 92) and Barker in his translation (p. 21), take it, but 'an illiterate, ignorant person.' He makes this clear from what follows: *sed doctorum libris expolitus atque excultus.* Moreover in Ch. 9, S. 13 he writes: *sunt item quidam de scholis usitatissimis grammaticorum oratorumque venientes, quos neque inter idiotas numerare audeas, neque inter illos doctissimos. . . . His ergo qui loquendi arte ceteris hominibus excellere videntur, cum veniunt, ut Christiani fiant, hoc amplius quam illis illiteratis impertire debemus,* where he plainly refers to the *idiotae* as *illiterati.* The phrase *ut aiunt* shows that *idiota* in the meaning of 'ignorant,' 'uneducated' must have been a well-known term. For this use of *idiota,* cf. Act. 4, 13, *homines . . . sine litteris, . . . et idiotae* (*ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοι . . . καὶ ἰδιῶται*); Tert. *Ad Martyras* 1, *verumtamen et gladiatores perfectissimos non tantum magistri et praepositi sui, sed etiam idiotae et supervacui quique adhortantur de longinquo;* id. *De Testimonio Animae* 1, *te simplicem et rudem et impolitam et idioticam compello.* Of course *idiota* in this meaning is not to be confused with *idiota* in its ecclesiastical meaning of a layman, that is, one in a private capacity in the Church, whether learned or unlearned, as distinguished from clerics. Cf. Chrys. *Hom.* 35 *in* 1 Cor. 15, *ἰδιώτην δὲ λαϊκὸν λέγει*; Theod. *Com. in* 1 Cor. 16, 16, *ἰδιώτην καλεῖ τὸν ἐν τῷ λαϊκῷ τάγματι τεταγμένον.*

29. **collatione:** here used in the meaning of 'discussion,' 'conference'; in this meaning it is p. c. Cf. Hier. *Ep.* 102, 2, *collatio ergo inter dei servos esse debet, non altercatio.*

30. **praesumtionis:** p. c. Cf. Goelzer, 277.

31. **doctrinae salutaris:** for the phrase, cf. 1 Tim. 1, 10, *et si quid aliud sanae doctrinae adversatur.*

32. **supereminentiorem viam:** that is, to charity. Cf. 1 Cor. 12, 31, *et adhuc excellentiorem viam vobis demonstro. Si linguis hominum loquar, et angelorum, caritatem autem non habeam, factus sum velut aes sonans, aut cymbalum tinniens;* Ephes. 3, 19, *scire etiam supereminentem scientiae caritatem Christi.* **supereminentiorem:** the usage of comparing adjectives, which from their compound form are already equivalent to the comparative or superlative, is p. c. Cf. J. Ott, *Doppelgradation des lateinischen Adjektivs in Verwechselung des Gradus untereinander,* in *Fleckeisens Jahrbuch,* 16 (1875), 787. The Greek reads, καὶ ἔτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῖν δείκνυμι. The Vulgate equivalent of καθ' ὑπερβολήν is *excellentiorem;* the Old Latin Version, *maiorem. Supereminentiorem* would seem to represent the reading of some early Latin version. It occurs again and again in Augustine. Cf. Aug. *In Ioan. Ev. Tract.* 6, 20, *quomodo enim oleum a nullo humore premitur, sed disruptis omnibus exsilit et supereminet: sic et caritas non potest premi in ima; necesse est ut ad superna emicet. Propterea de illa dicit apostolus: adhuc supereminentiorem viam vobis demonstro; Tract.* 118, 4, *de caritate autem locuturus apostolus: 'supereminentiorem,' inquit, 'viam vobis demonstro,' et alio loco: 'cognoscere etiam supereminentem scientiae caritatem Christi' . . . si ergo caritas et supereminentiorem habet viam;* cf. also *De Gratia et lib. Arb.* 17, 34. In *Enarr. in Ps.* 141, 17, it is interesting to note that he explains *supereminentior* by *excellentior* (the word actually used in the Vulgate): *'et adhuc supereminentiorem viam vobis demonstro.' Quam dicis, O apostole, supereminentiorem viam? . . . Haec via certe, quia supereminentior est, et excellentior est: hoc enim supereminet, quod excelsum est;* cf. also *Enarr. in Ps.* 103, 9, *'supereminentiorem,' inquit, 'viam vobis demonstro.' Quam dicit supereminentiorem viam? . . . Si ergo nihil supereminentius in scriptura sancta inveniri potest quam caritas.*

CHAPTER 9.

(13) *How one should deal with students from the schools of grammar and rhetoric. They should be taught to prefer a pure heart to a practised tongue: the substance to the form.*

1. **quidam de scholis usitatissimis grammaticorum oratorumque venientes, quos neque inter idiotas numerare audeas, neque inter illos doctissimos, quorum mens magnarum rerum est exercitata quaestionibus: quidam de scholis usitatissimis venientes:** according to Augustine, those who present themselves for instruction fall into three classes: the well-educated (cf. Ch. 8, N. 2); the half-educated, who come from second-rate schools of rhetoric (*quidam de scholis usitatissimis*); and the illiterate, *idiotae* (cf. Ch. 8, N. 28). It is in this passage especially that Augustine shows the result of his own wide culture and knowledge of the world as well as his truly Christian modesty and tact. After his experience as student at Carthage, professor of rhetoric at Rome and Milan, and bishop at Hippo, he was well qualified to speak of these three classes of candidates. He once more makes it clear that he regards only the *liberalibus doctrinis exculti* (cf. Ch. 8, N. 2) as really educated: *illos doctissimos,* etc. With the half-educated, the products of the rhetorical schools, he is most severe. This is only another indication of how vehemently he was opposed to the vicious system of rhetorical education, so popular in his time, which substituted words for ideas and fustian for literature, and how anxious he was to revive the educational ideals set forth in Cicero's *De Oratore.* Augustine, following Cicero, considers a liberal education to be the only education worthy of the name. His services, therefore, to Christian education cannot be easily estimated; it was he who carried over into the Church the best classical tradition. For the three types of candidates mentioned here, cf. Cic. *De Or.* 2, 6, 25, *nam ut C. Lucilius . . . dicere solebat, ea, quae scriberet, neque se ab indoctissimis neque a doctissimis legi velle, quod alteri nihil intelligerent, alteri plus fortasse quam ipse; de quo etiam scripsit 'Persium non curo legere, hic fuit enim . . . omnium . . . doctissimus—Laelium Decumum volo,' quem cognovimus virum bonum*

et non illiteratum, sed nihil ad Persium; sic ego, si iam mihi disputandum sit de his nostris studiis, nolim equidem apud rusticos, sed multo minus apud vos (doctissimos!). Augustine is annoyed by the half-educated class who think they are superior to the rest of the world in speaking. They are difficult to handle because they have neither the penetration of the well-educated nor the humility and simplicity of the illiterate—"a little learning is a dangerous thing." Cf. Cic. *De Or.* 3, 6, 24, *sed quoniam oppressi iam sumus opinionibus non modo volgi, verum etiam hominum leviter eruditorum. . . .* According to Augustine, Faustus, the Manichaean teacher, was a half-educated man. Cf. *Conf.* 5, 6, 11, *expertus sum prius hominem expertem liberalium disciplinarum nisi grammaticae atque eius ipsius usitato modo.* **quorum mens magnarum rerum est exercitata quaestionibus:** cf. with this description of the well-educated man Cicero's description of the broad culture required for the making of a perfect orator: *De Orat.* 1, 6, *ac mea quidem sententia nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatus orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum atque artium scientiam consecutus;* id. 3, 31, *sit modo is, qui dicet aut scribet, institutus liberaliter educatione doctrinaque puerili et a natura adiuvetur et in universorum generum infinitis disceptationibus exercitatus,* etc.; id. *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 4, 7, *hanc enim perfectam philosophiam semper iudicavi, quae de maximis quaestionibus copiose posset ornateque dicere.* The rhetorical profession had always been extremely popular in Africa. Cf. Iuv. 14, 7, *accipiat te | Gallia vel potius nutricula causidicorum | Africa, si placuit mercedem ponere linguae,* and Mayor's note.

2. **hoc . . . impertire debemus, quod sedulo monendi sunt:** a form of pleonasm much affected by Cicero and imitated by Augustine.

3. **humilitate induti:** for the expression, cf. Col. 3, 12, *induite vos . . . humilitatem.*

4. **quos cognoverint morum vitia quam verborum amplius devitare:** for the expression *morum vitia,* cf. Cic. *De Sen.* 18, 65, *sed haec morum vitia sunt.* The *verborum vitia,* according to Quintilian, are barbarisms and solecisms (cf. Quint. *Inst. orat.* 1, 5, *prima barbarismi ac soloecismi foeditas absit. Sed quia in-*

terim excusantur haec vitia. . . .). Note how Augustine plays on the two meanings of *vitium* (a rhetorical blemish, or a moral fault). The pagans, and sometimes worldly Christians, preferred purity of diction to purity of life. Cf. Aug. *Conf.* 1, 18, 28, *quando mihi imitandi proponebantur homines, qui aliqua facta sua non mala, si cum barbarismo aut soloecismo enuntiarent, reprehensi confundebantur; si autem libidines suas integris et rite consequentibus verbis copiose ordinateque narrarent, laudati gloriabantur?* In *C. Advers. Leg.* 1, 52, Augustine describes God as being *magis morum quam verborum pulchritudinem quaerens atque munditiam;* id. 1, 29, *filii hominum observant pacta litterarum et syllabarum et aeterna pacta salutis neglegunt;* Cic. *De Orat.* 3, 35, 142, *malim equidem indisertam prudentiam quam stultitiam loquacem.* **amplius:** = *magis.* In p. c. Latin *amplius* is frequently used in the meaning of *magis.* In classical Latin *magis* = 'more in degree'; *amplius* = 'more in extent.' Cf. Madvig, 305, obs. 2; Roby, 1273; Ogilvie-Souter, 179.

5. **conferre . . . praeferre:** figure of paronomasia. For the thought, cf. Hier. *Ep. ad Nep.* 5, *multoque melius est, e duobus imperfectis, rusticitatem habere sanctam quam eloquentiam peccatricem.*

6. **ne sordeat eis solidum eloquium, quia non est inflatum:** for the thought, cf. Aug. *De Doctr. Christ.* 4, 9, when speaking of the eloquence of Sacred Scripture: *alios autem, quanto videtur humilior, tanto altius non ventositate, sed soliditate transcendit.* The eloquence of the sacred writers is perfect, inasmuch as their style and diction is perfectly adapted to their subjects. Any educated reader of Augustine's time must have recognized that he was here alluding to the pomposity of the Sophistic rhetoric without mentioning it by name. **eloquium:** a favorite word in Scripture, frequently used by the Fathers to designate Holy Scripture.

7. **involuta . . . aperienda:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *Acad.* 2, 8, 26, *quae quasi involuta fuerunt, aperta sunt,* where Reid, in his note, observes that *aperta* is a reminiscence of ἐκκαλύπτειν, ἐκκαλυπτικός, constantly used by Greek writers in connection with argument and definition.

8. **aenigmatum latebrae ad . . . decutiendumque fastidii torporem:** Augustine never tires of emphasizing the pedagogical value of allegorism. Cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* 10, 5, *si nusquam aperta esset scriptura, non te pasceret; si numquam occulta, non te exerceret; Serm,* 71, 7, *in omni quippe copia scripturarum sanctarum pascimur apertis; exercemur obscuris. Illic fames pellitur, hic fastidium; De Doctr. Christ.* 4, 9, *ipsa quoque obscuritas divinorum salubriumque dictorum tali eloquentiae miscenda fuerat, in qua proficere noster intellectus, non solum inventione, verum etiam exercitatione deberet.* Augustine, in his fondness for allegorism, was influenced by St. Ambrose, who first firmly established it in the Western Church; Augustine, however, was much more moderate than Ambrose in its use. Cf. R. H. Malden, *St. Ambrose as an Interpreter of Holy Scripture,* in *J. Th. S.* 16 (1914), 509; also J. B. Kellner, *Der hl. Ambrosius als Erklärer des alten Testamentes* (1893), 10; P. Aslaber, *Die persönlichen Beziehungen der drei grossen Kirchenlehrer, Ambrosius, Hieronymus, und Augustinus* (1908), 35.

8[a]. **in promptu positum:** cf. Cic. *De Div.* 2, 60, 124, *sed haec quoque in promptu fuerint.* For other references, see Pease's note.

9. **ita esse praeponendas verbis sententias, ut praeponitur animus corpori:** this is directed against the vicious system of Sophistic rhetoric which had substituted words for ideas and was intent on form alone. Augustine has returned to the sound principles of rhetoric laid down by Cicero in *De Oratore;* cf. 1, 6, *quae, nisi res est ab oratore percepta et cognita, inanem quandam habet elocutionem et paene puerilem;* id. 1, 12, *haec autem oratio, si res non subest ab oratore percepta et cognita, aut nulla sit necesse est aut omnium inrisione ludatur. Quid est enim tam furiosum, quam verborum vel optimorum atque ornatissimorum sonitus inanis, nulla subiecta sententia nec scientia.* **ut praeponitur animus corpori:** the verb of a subordinate sentence, introduced by a relative word or a conjunctive particle, stands in the subjunctive in indirect discourse, though certain conjunctive particles such as *ita* and *ut* are sometimes found with the infinitive in Cicero, Livy, and Tacitus (cf. Cic. *Pro Clu.* 138, *id quod saepe dictum est: ut mare ventorum vi agitari atque turbari, sic populum Romanum . . . concitari*). The indicative here may be justified if Augustine con-

sidered the *ut praeponitur animus corpori* clause as an afterthought, adduced as an illustration and not strictly part of what these men are to know (*utile est nosse*) but rather a statement of obvious fact. But even as an afterthought the *ita* seems to anticipate *ut* in a somewhat disconcerting fashion unless we are to suppose that the change from indirect to direct discourse is the result of carelessness, or that by this change Augustine wishes to make clear the distinction between what these men will find it useful to know and what (according to Augustine) is generally accepted as fact. There was, moreover, a tendency in p. c. Latin, particularly in Biblical Latin, to retain the indicative of direct discourse in a subordinate clause in indirect discourse. Cf. Luc. 24, 23, *dicentes se visionem angelorum vidisse, qui dicunt eum vivere;* Act. 10, 43, *huic omnes prophetae testimonium perhibent, remissionem peccatorum accipere per nomen eius omnes qui credunt in eum.*

10. **prudentiores quam formosiores . . . amicos:** for the thought, cf. Sen. *ad Paulinum,* 12, *quis est istorum qui non malit rem publicam suam turbari quam comam, qui non sollicitior sit de capitis sui dedecore quam de salute, qui non comptior esse malit quam honestior;* cf. Aug. *Conf.* 5, 6, 10, *iam rebus talibus satiatae erant aures meae, nec ideo mihi meliora videbantur, quia melius dicebantur, nec ideo vera quia diserta, nec ideo sapiens anima, quia vultus congruus et decorum eloquium.* Augustine himself tells us that when he first went to hear St. Ambrose preach he was not so much interested in *what* he said as in *how* he said it. Cf. *Conf.* 5, 13, 23, *et verbis eius suspendebar intentus, rerum autem incuriosus et contemptor adstabam.*

11. **non esse vocem ad aures dei nisi animi affectum:** for the thought, cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* 31, *Serm.* 3, 10, *clamor ad deum non est voce, sed corde.*

12. **antistites et ministros ecclesiae . . . cum barbarismis et soloecismis deum invocare:** *antistes* is sometimes used absolutely by Augustine for 'bishop' (cf. *Conf.* 9, 7, 16, *tunc memorato antistiti tuo per visum aperuisti*), and occasionally in its metaphorical sense (cf. *Conf.* 6, 2, 2, *praedicatore atque antistite pietatis*). For an exhaustive study of the various appellations of a bishop

in St. Cyprian, cf. Watson, 257. Those in minor orders were frequently called *ministri* in the early Church. Cf. Koffmane, 25; Watson, 260. In the present passage, however, I believe that *antistites et ministros ecclesiae* is pleonastic for the ministers, the officiating clerics, of the Church, in general. For a similar use of this phrase, cf. Aug. *De Mor. Eccl. cath.* 1, 1, *nec, si ea discere cupiens, in aliquos forte inciderit vel episcopos vel presbyteros, vel cuiuscemodi ecclesiae catholicae antistites et ministros.* Augustine, therefore, has reference here to the clergy in general, whether bishops, priests, deacons, or clerics in minor orders. North Africa in Augustine's day was a strange mixture of languages and nationalities. Valerius, Augustine's predecessor in the see of Hippo, was a Greek, and preached in Latin only with great difficulty. Many of the priests knew only their native Punic and spoke Latin very poorly and with a strong Punic accent. Augustine himself tells us (*De Ordine* 2, 17, 45) that he spoke Latin with a provincial accent. Punic, of course, he knew thoroughly, it being his native tongue. Cf. Odilo Rottmanner, *Zur Sprachenkenntnis des hl. Augustinus,* in *T. T. Q.* 12 (1895), 269 (reprinted in *Geistesfrüchte aus der Klosterzelle,* pp. 61-66); Becker, 144.

13. **cum barbarismis et soloecismis:** the ancients were very particular about correctness of speech. Cf. Cic. *De Or.* 3, 14, 52, *nemo enim umquam est oratorem, quod Latine loqueretur, admiratus; si est aliter, inrident, neque eum oratorem tantummodo, sed hominem non putant; nemo extulit eum verbis, qui ita dixisset, ut, qui adessent, intelligerent quid diceret, sed contempsit eum, qui minus id facere potuisset.*

14. **bona dictio . . . benedictio:** figure of paronomasia. *Benedictio* as used here in the meaning of 'praise given to God' is ecclesiastical. Cf. Kaulen, 63.

15. **sufficit:** the impersonal use of this verb begins with Suetonius. Cf. *Ner.* 31, *suffecerit haec retulisse.*

16. **pluribus verbis:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *Pro Clu.* 41, 115, *quae consuetudo sit, pluribus verbis docere.*

CHAPTER 10.

(14, 15) *How to secure cheerfulness, and of the cause of that weariness of which Deogratias had complained. There are six causes mentioned:*

(a) *Speech being inferior to thought, we cannot express adequately what the mind perceives.*

(b) *We cannot, in the words which occur to us at the moment, express truths as well as they have been expressed by others. Consequently, we prefer to hear or read what has already been well said or written.*

(c) *We weary of repeating again and again elementary things that our mind has outgrown.*

(d) *We are discouraged when our pupils take no interest, or, at least, when they give no signs of being interested.*

(e) *When called away from what seems more interesting and more important business, we approach, while in a state of irritation, a work requiring great tranquillity of mind.*

(f) *At the very time of our catechetical instruction word may be brought to us of some scandal which saddens us, and as a result we do not find ourselves in the humor to speak.*

1. **domino adiuvante:** for the phrase, cf. Ps. 39, 14, *Domine, ad adiuvandum me respice.*

1ª. **hilaritate:** on the importance that Augustine attaches to cheerfulness in catechizing, cf. Eggersdorfer, 195.

2. **mensuram debiti:** for the thought, cf. Aug. *Ep.* 110, 5, *porro iustitiae ordo sic habet, ut debitum prius reddamus, tum deinde cui reddimus, si hoc placet, aliquid et donamus.*

3. **Christiano nomine:** *nomen* in Latin connotes all that goes with the name; for instance: *nomen Romanum* = 'the Roman nation, dominion, power, prestige.' Cf. Sall. *Cat.* 52, 24, *gens infestissima nomini Romano. Christiano nomine* here, therefore, designates the Christian religion. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 5, *nomen Christianum in saeculum introivit.*

4. **paratum et instructum:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *Or.* 20, *nam et grandiloqui . . . instructi et parati.*

5. **strepitum:** a favorite word of Augustine's to express the noise and confusion of words as contrasted with the silence and quiet of thought. Cf. Aug. *Conf.* 9, 10, 24, *et remeavimus ad strepitum oris nostri.* St. Gregory of Nyssa uses the identical expression; cf. *Contra Eunomium,* 12 B, τῷ ψόφῳ τῶν ῥημάτων ("this hubbub of words").

6. **coaptare:** p. c. Cf. Goelzer, 180.

7. **incerto exitu:** the doubtful outcome of the speech is one of the things that disturbs even the greatest orator, according to Cicero. Cf. *De Orat.* 1, 26, *ut enim quisque optime dicit, ita maxime dicendi difficultatem variosque eventus orationis exspectationemque hominum pertimescit.*

8. **pro sententia:** p. c. for *ex sententia.* In p. c. Latin the prepositions even in stereotyped expressions were changed. Cf., for example, Apul. *Apol.* 2, 7, *de professo* for *ex professo.*

9. **provectui:** p. c. Cf. Goelzer, 86.

10. **infantibus:** p. c. Cf. Apul. *Met.* 5.

11. **grandiusculus:** in classical Latin from the neuter comparative of some adjectives a diminutive in *-culus* is formed, which diminishes the force of the positive, or, as here, carries a suggestion of irony. Cf. Madvig, 63.

12. **facit . . . loquenti taedium:** for the expression, cf. Ov. *Pont.* 3, 7, 3, *taedia consimili fieri de carmine vobis.*

13. **nullo motu corporis:** Augustine was always on the lookout for signs and gestures that would show that his hearers were following him. Cf. Aug. *De Doctr. Christ.* 4, 25, *solet autem motu suo significare utrum intellexerit cognoscendi avida multitudo.* As a rule the African nature was very quick to show its approbation; in fact Augustine had often to reprove his congregation for breaking out into applause and cheers when something in his sermon pleased them. In *Serm.* 339, 1, Augustine gives a very ingenious account of his attitude towards applause on the part of the congregation: *laudari autem a male viventibus nolo, abhorreo, detestor: dolori mihi est, non voluptati. Laudari autem a bene*

viventibus, si dicam nolo, mentior, si dicam volo, timeo, ne sim inanitatis appetentior quam soliditatis. Ergo quid dicam? Nec plene volo nec plene nolo. Non plene volo, ne in laude humana pericliter; non plene nolo, ne ingrati sint, quibus praedico. Cf. Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* 50, 1; *Serm.* 154, 1. On the custom of applauding preachers in the early Church, cf. Bingham, 14, 4, 27; J. Zellinger, *Der Beifall in der altchristlichen Predigt,* in *Festgabe A. Knöpfler* (1917), 32.

14. **non quia . . . decet . . . ea quae ministramus dei sunt:** *non quia decet* = *non quia deceat.* The subjunctive of rejected reason is frequently replaced by the indicative in p. c. Latin. **ea quae ministramus,** etc.: cf. 1 Cor. 4, 1, *sic nos existimet homo ut ministros Christi: et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei.*

15. **in ipso cursu:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 2, 82, *cum sum in cursu orationis.*

16. **debilitamur et frangimur:** a favorite combination of verbs with Cicero; cf. *De Fin.* 2, 29, 95, *potius ergo illa dicantur, turpe esse, viri non esse debilitari dolore, frangi; Tusc. Disp.* 2, 13, 31, *nec dignum viro videbitur . . . frangi, debilitari dolore; De Orat.* 1, 26, 121, *simul ac me fractum ac debilitatum metu viderit; Pro Flacc.* 62, *fractum prope ac debilitatum Graeciae nomen; ad Fam.* 5, 13, 3, *membrum rei publicae fractum debilitatumque.*

17. **loquere huic, Christianus vult fieri:** for the construction *loqui* with a dative, cf. Ch. 4, N. 36. It is clear from this passage that there was no definite season or time of day set apart for these instructions. The catechist might be interrupted in his work at any time and asked to catechize. If these instructions were to be given to one or only a few, the catechist invited them into his own dwelling. But if he had "a class," and particularly, if at the end of the instruction the candidates were to be admitted solemnly to the catechumenate (cf. Ch. 26, N. 1), the vestibule of the church was most probably used. Cf. Ch. 1, N. 10[a]; Mayer, 271. **Christianus vult fieri:** by *Christianus* here Augustine means "catechumen." As the catechumens were regarded as Christians, it frequently happened that the two words were used interchangeably. In this connection it is interesting to note that in formularies of Roman origin the rites of baptism are usually entitled "*ordines ad cate-*

chumenum faciendum," while in those of Gallic origin, *" ordines ad Christianum faciendum"* (cf. *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* ed. Muratori l. c. 2, p. 847; *Missale Gothicum,* ed. Murat. 1, p. 589). It may be observed, however, that though the catechumens were called *Christiani,* they were never called *fideles* until *after* baptism.

18. **dicitur:** ed. Lov. reads, *nescitur.*

18ª. **clausum intus:** a Vergilian phrase in which *clausum* merely carries out the sense of *intus;* cf. *Georg.* 4, 258, *aut intus clausis cunctantur in aedibus, omnes;* 3, 214, *aut intus clausos satura ad praesepia servant.*

19. **quaelibet . . . obnubilet:** = *quaelibet . . . obnubilat:* in classical Latin the indefinite pronouns *quicumque, quislibet, quisquis* in generalizing statements usually take the indicative; in p. c. Latin these pronouns are frequently followed by the subjunctive. The latter usage has been preserved in the Romance languages. Cf. French, *quelle qui en soit la nature;* Italian, *checche ne sia la natura.*

20. **secundum deum sunt quaerenda remedia:** *secundum deum* = *secundum voluntatem dei.* For the expression, cf. Rom. 8, 27, *quia secundum deum postulat pro sanctis,* where *secundum deum* is a literal translation of the Greek κατὰ θεόν, which in turn is elliptical for κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ. Cf. also 2 Cor. 7, 9; 4 Mac. 15, 2. For the expression *quaerenda remedia,* cf. Cic. *Pro Clu.* 9, 27, *domo sibi quaerendum remedium existimavit; Tusc. Disp.* 2, 19, 45, *non esse ab eo doloris remedia quaerenda.*

21. **contractio:** = 'dejection.' Cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 4, 31, 66, *eodem enim vitio est effusio animi in laetitia quo in dolore contractio.* Reid, in his note on Cic. *De Am.* 13, 48, *diffundatur,* observes: "When the mind is *expanded* it is supposed to feel pleasure, when *contracted,* pain. The Stoics used the terms διαχεῖσθαι and συστέλλεσθαι, διάχυσις and συστολή."

22. **iucundemur:** p. c. Cf. Apoc. 11, 10, *gaudebunt super illos et iucundabuntur.*

23. **taedet loqui et libet tacere:** anaphora.

24. **qui demonstravit nobis exemplum:** cf. 1 Pet. 2, 21, *vobis relinquens exemplum, ut sequamini vestigia eius.*

25. **articulata vox . . . longe differentior:** for the phrase *articulata vox,* cf. Lucr. 4, 549, *voces . . . mobilis articulat;* cf. Hier. *Ep.* 30, 12, *per dentes articulata vox promitur.* **differentior:** the comparative is p. c. Cf. Hebr. 1, 4, *quanto differentius prae illis nomen hereditavit;* Iren. 2, 30, 7; Rufin. *Symb.* 4, *divinae generationis mysterium tanto esse differentius.*

26. **formam servi accipiens, etc.:** the abbreviation *etc.* may be the work of some scribe. Cf. Philip. 2, 6, *qui cum in forma dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem deo, sed semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, in similitudinem hominum factus, et habitu inventus ut homo.*

27. **factus est infirmis infirmus** etc.: cf. 1 Cor. 9, 22, *factus sum infirmis infirmus, ut infirmos lucrifacerem.*

28. **sive enim mente excessimus, deo; sive temperantes sumus, vobis. Caritas enim Christi compellit nos iudicantes hoc, quia unus pro omnibus mortuus est:** the Vulgate version of 2 Cor. 5, 13 reads, *sive enim mente excedimus, deo; sive sobrii sumus, vobis; caritas enim Christi urget nos; aestimantes hoc, quoniam si unus pro omnibus mortuus est, ergo omnes mortui sunt.* An Old Latin version reads: *sive enim excedimus mente, Deo; sive sobrii sumus, vobis. Caritas enim Christi urguet nos: iudicantes hoc, quoniam unus pro omnibus mortuus est, ergo omnes mortui sunt.* Note that both versions read *excedimus* while Augustine has *excessimus,* both read *sobrii,* Augustine, *temperantes;* the Vulgate reads *urget,* the Old Latin version *urguet. In Ps.* 30, *Enarr.* 1, *Serm.* 1, 2, Augustine uses the identical phraseology of our text: *sive enim mente excessimus Deo, sive temperantes sumus, vobis, caritas enim Christi compellit nos;* cf. also Sedulius *in* 2 *Cor.* The Greek reads, εἴτε γὰρ ἐξέστημεν. Various interpretations have been given to *mente excedimus.* Augustine when referring to it always takes it in the meaning of ecstasy: cf. *In Ps.* 30, 2, *De hoc mentis excessu, id est ecstasi, Paulus cum loqueretur, seipsum insinuans ait: Sive enim mente excessimus,* etc. When quoting this text in *Contra Faustum,* 11, 8, Augustine follows the reading of the Vulgate: *caritas, inquit, Christi compellit nos, iudicantes hoc, quoniam si unus pro omnibus mortuus est.*

29. **factus est parvulus:** cf. 1 Thess. 2, 7, *sed facti sumus parvuli in medio vestrum, tamquam si nutrix foveat filios suos.*

30. **nutrix fovens filios suos:** Wilkins in his note on Cic. *De Orat.* 2, 162, *nutrices,* observes that *nutrix* is always used in Latin with a direct reference to feeding, and almost always = 'wet nurse,' like the French *nourrice.* Walpole, in his note on *fovens,* 49, writes, "a beautiful and expressive word, combining the ideas of nursing, as a mother nurses her child in her lap, and of keeping warm, as a hen keeps her brood warm by gathering them under her wings."

31. **decurtata et mutilata verba immurmurare:** cf. Lucr. 5, 230, *almae nutricis blanda atque infracta loquella:* the 'broken speech' or 'baby talk' used by nurses. Porphyrio (Meyer's edition in the Teubner series, p. 203), in his note on Hor. *Sat.* 1, 3, 47, *illum | balbutit scaurum pravis fultum male talis,* observes: *blandientes infantibus infringere linguam solent ut quasi eos imitentur;* cf. Min. Fel. *Oct.* 2, 2, *et quod est in liberis amabilius adhuc annis innocentibus et adhuc dimidiata verba temptantibus, loquelam ipso offensantis linguae fragmine dulciorem.* **decurtata et mutilata:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *Orat.* 53, 178, *mutila sentit quaedam et quasi decurtata. Immurmurare* is a poetical word in classical Latin. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 261, *silvis immurmurat Auster.* It is never used in classical Latin transitively as it is here. For a similar use in p. c. Latin, cf. *Cod. Theod.* 9, 38, 6. Cf. Aug. *Serm.* 349, 2. This would seem to be an Augustinian use.

31[a]. **optant homines habere infantes:** = *optant homines ut habeant infantes.* In Cicero *optare* in personal constructions is regularly followed by *ut,* rarely by the infinitive and subject accusative unless for structural symmetry (cf. e. g. Cic. *De Orat.* 1, 87, *ut ipse eis, apud quos ageret, talis qualem se esse optaret, videretur*). **optant:** = *sperant* or *cupiunt.* In p. c. Latin *optare* is frequently used in the meaning of 'to desire earnestly,' whereas in classical Latin it is used with reference to what is utopian: 'to hope against hope.' See Reid's note on *Pro Balbo* 4, 9; *Acad.* 2, 38, 121; Sandys' note on *Or.* 18, 59; Ogilvie-Souter, 128.

32. **minuta mansa inspuere parvulo filio:** *inspuere* is found in classical authors only in the meaning of 'to spit upon.' Cf. Sen. *De Ira,* 3, 38, *inspuere alicui in frontem. Inspuere* may be a copyist's mistake for *inserere,* the verb actually used in the

passage of Cicero of which this seems to be a reminiscence. Cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 2, 39, 162, *ego autem, si quem nunc plane rudem institui ad dicendum velim, his potius tradam adsiduis uno opere eandem incudem diem noctemque tundentibus, qui omnis tenuissimas particulas atque omnia minima mansa ut nutrices infantibus pueris in os inserant.* Quintilian has likewise borrowed this comparison. Cf. *Inst. orat.* 10, 1, 19, *repetamus autem et retractemus et ut cibos mansos ac prope liquefactos demittimus, quo facilius digerantur, ita lectio non cruda sed multa iteratione mollita et velut confecta memoriae incitationique tradatur;* cf. also Gellius, 4, 1, 11. The classical authors, particularly Cicero, Vergil, and Quintilian, were so familiar to Augustine that it is frequently hard to say whether certain expressions are direct reminiscences or phrases and tags that in Augustine's time had become literary commonplaces. As to the influence of these authors upon his style, we must remember that, although by tradition, temperament, and education he was drawn to the classical models, still he was a child of his age, and his style, a faithful reflection of that age. Cf. J. H. Van Haeringen, 26, *ceterum notandum est etiam in his scriptis (ante baptismum) quamvis Ciceroniano similibus pleraque occurrere eorum, quae Latini sermonis posterioris propria sint, a classico, qui dicitur, sermone abhorrent.* Maria Peters in *Augustins erste Bekehrung,* in *Harnack-Ehrung* (Leipzig, 1921), 207, writes: *Die starke stilistische Beeinflussung Augustins durch Cicero zeigen die Erstlingsschriften. . . . Erst nach und nach hat Augustin seinen eigenen Stil gefunden. . . . Aber auch der spätere Schriftsteller Augustin verleugnet seine Herkunft von Rhetorikern wie Cicero nicht;* see also J. B. Eskridge, *The Influence of Cicero upon Augustine in the Development of his oratorical Theory for the Training of the ecclesiastical Orator* (Chicago, 1912).

33. **non ergo recedat,** etc.: *non . . . recedat* = *ne . . . recedat.* Cf. Ch. 6, N. 18. This turn of phrase was most probably suggested by Ios. 1, 8, *non recedat volumen legis ab ore tuo.* The comparison of the hen is taken from Matth. 23, 37, *Ierusalem, Ierusalem, quae occidis prophetas et lapidas eos qui ad te missi sunt, quoties volui congregare filios tuos, quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas, et noluisti?* For the thought, cf. Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* 58, 10, *infirmatus est usque ad mortem, ut pullos*

Ierusalem colligeret sub alas suas, tamquam gallina infirmata cum parvulis. Certe notam rem dico, quae in conspectu nostro quotidie versatur: quomodo raucescit vox, quomodo fit hispidum totum corpus? Deponuntur alae, laxantur plumae, et vides circa pullos nescio quid aegrotum, et ea est materna caritas quae invenitur infirmitas. Tract. in Ioann. 15, 7, *videtis autem, fratres, quemadmodum gallina infirmetur cum pullis suis. Nulla enim alia avis quod sit mater agnoscitur. . . . Gallina vero sic infirmatur in pullis suis, ut etiamsi ipsi pulli non sequantur, filios non videas, matrem tamen agnoscas. Ita fit alis demissis, plumis hispida, voce rauca, omnibus membris demissa et abiecta, ut quemadmodum dixi, etiamsi filios non videas, matrem tamen intelligas.* Augustine, as a keen psychologist, took a great interest in natural phenomena; his powers of observation were remarkable. Cf. Trench, 312; Cunningham, 137; Montgomery, 130. This instinctive interest in nature may have been stimulated by the reading of Vergil, of whom Sir Archibald Geikie (*The Love of Nature Among the Romans,* London, 1912, p. 187), writes: "In the poetry of Vergil the love of the whole world of animated nature finds even fuller and more frequent expression than in that of his great predecessor (Lucretius). Bird, beast, and insect were scanned by his closely observant eyes, with all the sympathy of his gentle and kindly heart."

34. **teneros fetus:** for the phrase, cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 1, 21, *pastores ovium teneros depellere fetus;* Quint. *Inst. Orat.* 2, 6, *quae teneris . . . fetibus ore suo collatos partiuntur.* Augustine, in his emotional passages particularly, shows the influence of Vergil who had become part and parcel of his being. Vergil had given to the hard, legal Latin language its vocabulary of emotion; and no one knew and appreciated as did Augustine the magic and allurement and subtle connotation of Vergilian phrases.

35. **confracta voce:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3, 556, *audimus longe fractasque ad litora voces;* Aug. *Serm.* 105, 11, *voce fracta.*

36. **infima . . . intima:** paronomasia.

37. **bonam conscientiam:** here pregnant for 'the testimony of a good conscience.' For this use of *conscientia,* cf. *Tusc. Disp.* 2, 27, 64, *nullum theatrum virtuti conscientia maius est* ('no witness is equal to the *testimony* of one's own conscience'). For the phrase, cf. Sen. *Ep.* 43, 5, *bona conscientia;* 1 Tim. 1, 5.

CHAPTER 11.

(16) *The remedy for the second cause of weariness. Though we know our language is inadequate to express our thought, still we must try to do the best we can; if we make mistakes we should discreetly correct them; if we are misunderstood or slighted we should remember the example of our Lord.*

1. **tantum a veritate rerum non aberret:** *tantum . . . . non aberret = dummodo . . . ne aberret.* The use of *tantum* as a proviso is confined in classical Latin to poetry (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 54, *tantum, vicine Palaemon,* | *Sensibus haec imis, res est non parva, reponas*); in p. c. Latin it occurs quite frequently in prose. Cf. S. S. 559; Svennung, 98. The ordinary negative after a proviso in classical Latin is *ne,* though *non* occurs in poetry (cf. Iuv. 7, 225, *dummodo non pereat*). The whole phrase is reminiscent of Iac. 5, 19, *si quis ex vobis erraverit a veritate.*

2. **facile est, ut . . . discat:** *facile est* is usually followed by the infinitive with subject accusative construction in classical Latin. Cf. Dräger, 2, 275.

3. **via tritissima:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *Brut.* 81, 281, *quam (viam) maiores eius ei tritam reliquissent;* cf. the old proverb: *via trita, via tuta.*

4. **aliunde . . . maiore praecipitemur errore:** *aliunde = alia de causa.* This use of *aliunde* occurs occasionally in classical Latin (cf. Cic. *Pro Rosc.* 74); it is found frequently in this meaning in p. c. Latin. Cf. *Kühner-Stegmann,* 2, 2, 284. For an interesting article on the peculiar use of certain particles in Augustine, cf. J. E. B. Mayor: *On a late Use of the Particles hinc inde,* etc., in *The Journal of classical and sacred Philology,* Vol. 1, 2 (1854), 392. **maiore praecipitemur errore:** a proverbial expression that appears in various forms. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1, 2, 24, *dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt;* Sen. Rhet. *Controv.* 7, Praef. 4, *dum alterum vitium devitat, incidebat in alterum.*

5. **si non fiat iterum:** "if only it does not happen again." *Si* is here used with the subjunctive to express a proviso, instead of *modo.* Cf. S. S. 581, 341.

6. **quando:** here temporal. The temporal use of *quando* instead of the classical *cum* has been retained in Italian *quando.*

7. **ideoque opportunitate reperta . . . in aliquam lapsi sunt falsitatem:** from various remarks of Augustine scattered through the treatise it is evident that the instruction given to the *rudes* was informal and that the catechist had full liberty in the choice of subject-matter. That the subject-matter of the instructions given to the catechumens proper likewise varied, is evident from this passage. For, as Rentschka 96, observes, if there were a special instruction for catechumens proper, Augustine need only to have referred the *rudis* to it, for the correction of his erroneous opinions. Again, in Ch. 26, S. 50, Augustine tells the prospective catechumen what his attitude should be if he hears anything in the Scriptures that he does not understand. Now if there were a set treatise for the catechumenate, Augustine would simply have had to refer the prospective catechumen to it for a solution of his Scripture difficulties. Mayer, 289, has tried to show that there was a well-defined catechesis for the catechumenate, but his arguments are not very convincing. **in aliquam lapsi sunt falsitatem:** note figure of hyperbaton. **falsitatem:** p. c. Cf. Goelzer, 102.

8. **susurrones, detractores, deo odibiles:** *susurro* is p. c. Cf. Rom. 1, 29, *repletos omni iniquitate . . . susurrones, detractores, deo odibiles.*

9. **praebeant . . . materiam:** for the expression, cf. Tac. *Hist.* 4, 4, *epistulae, quae materiam sermonibus praebuere.*

10. **patientia . . . adducit:** cf. Rom. 1, 4, *ignoras quoniam benignitas dei ad paenitentiam te adducit.* Note how, either by a slip of the memory or by deliberate substitution, Augustine writes *patientia* for *benignitas,* the word of the text. Cf. Ch. 4, N. 3.

11. **thesaurizet:** p. c. Ecclesiastical writers coined many new verbs in *-izare* and *-issare.* Cf. A. Funck, *Die Verba auf issare und izare,* in *Archiv,* 3 (1886), 398. For the Scriptural reference, cf. Rom. 2, 5, *thesaurizas tibi iram in die irae, et revelationis iusti iudicii dei.*

12. **quam de malo alterius mala diaboli similitudine atque imitatione laetari:** for the thought, cf. Terentius, *And.* 4, 1, 1, *Hoccin' est credibile, aut memorabile, | Tanta vecordia innata cui-*

quam ut siet, | Ut malis gaudeant alienis, atque ex incommodis | Alterius sua ut comparent commoda. Cf. Menander, Frag., ταῖς ἀτυχίαις μήποτ' ἐπίχαιρε τῶν πέλας. For the expression, *similitudine atque imitatione,* cf. Cic. *Or.* 2, 23, 96, *hanc igitur similitudinem qui imitatione assequi volet.*

13. **contra opinionem et consuetudinem veteris erroris:** Barker, 30, treats *opinionem et consuetudinem* as hendiadys, and translates 'an inveterate and erroneous prejudice.' In Cic. *De Off.* 1, 26, the expression *opinionis error* occurs, which is rightly translated, 'an erroneous opinion'; but in our passage the cases are changed: *opinionem erroris.* I believe, therefore, that the expression had better be translated literally 'the belief and practice of a long-standing error.' For the expression, *veteris erroris,* cf. Isa. 26, 3, *vetus error abiit.*

14. **offensio:** in the meaning of 'scandal' is p. c. and Biblical. Like the word scandal, it may have an active or a passive meaning, scandal given or scandal taken; in the present passage it is to be taken passively. For its use in Scripture cf. Rom. 9, 32, *offenderunt enim in lapidem offensionis;* 1 Cor. 10, 32, *sine offensione estote Iudaeis et gentibus;* 2 Cor. 6, 3, *nemini dantes ullam offensionem;* 1 Petr. 2, 8, *et lapis offensionis, et petra scandali.*

14ª. **durum . . . numquid et vos vultis ire:** cf. Ioan. 6, 60-67, *multi ergo audientes ex discipulis eius, dixerunt: Durus est hic sermo . . . numquid et vos vultis abire.* Augustine is here following the Old Latin version which reads, *numquid et vos vultis ire.*

15. **satis enim fixum atque immobile debet corde retineri, Ierusalem captivam decursis temporibus liberari, nullumque ex illa esse periturum quia qui perierit, non ex illa erat:** *satis* = 'very,' 'exceedingly.' In classical Latin *satis* frequently weakens the force of the next word. Cf. Cic. *Acad.* 1, 1, *satis longo intervallo.* In p. c. Latin *satis* strengthens the word it precedes or follows, it being used sometimes in the Vulgate instead of *valde* or *nimis* to translate σφόδρα of the Septuagint. Cf. Is. 64, 9, *ne irascaris Domine satis* (μὴ ὀργίζου ἡμῖν σφόδρα). It is interesting to note that *assez* in French, following the classical usage, weakens the following word: *assez bien* = 'tolerably, pretty well.' Italian

assai, on the other hand, following p. c. usage, strengthens the word with which it is connected: *assai bene* = 'very, exceedingly well.' For the phrase *fixum atque immobile,* cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7, 249, *talibus Ilionei dictis defixa Latinus | obtutu tenet ora, soloque immobilis haeret;* cf. also Verg. *Aen.* 4, 15, *si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet;* Aug. *De Gratia et lib. Arb.* 21, 43, *fixum enim debet esse et immobile in corde vestro.* Cf. Aug. *De Ord.* 1, 2, c. 7, *fixe immobiliterque.* **decursis temporibus:** Reid, in his note on Cic. *De Orat.* 1, 32, 148, *decursa sunt* observes that *decurrere* is very rarely used as a transitive verb except with an accusative of cognate signification like *vitam, aetatem,* etc.; *decursis temporibus,* therefore, is classical. **liberari:** note the use of the present for the future infinitive passive to denote absolute assurance. **nullumque:** = *neminemque.* In classical Latin the substantive use of *nullus* is generally restricted to the genitive *nullius* and the ablative *nullo,* but in p. c. Latin, particularly in the Scriptures, it is found used substantively in all the cases. Cf. Lib. Iudicum 3, 25, *videntes quod nullus aperiret.* For a thorough discussion of the uses of *nemo* and *nullus,* cf. K. S. 2, 140, 172. **quia qui perierit, non ex illa erat:** for the Scriptural references, cf. Ioan. 17, 12, *quos dedisti mihi, custodivi: et nemo ex eis periit, nisi filius perditionis, ut Scriptura impleatur;* also 1 Ioan. 2, 19, *ex nobis prodierunt, sed non erant ex nobis.* For the conflation of Scripture texts, cf. Ch. 4, N. 3.

16. **firmum enim fundamentum,** etc.: cf. 2 Tim. 2, 19, *sed firmum fundamentum dei stat, habens signaculum hoc: cognovit dominus qui sunt eius; et discedat ab iniquitate qui nominat nomen domini.*

17. **nostram gloriam,** etc.: cf. Ioan. 7, 18, *qui a semetipso loquitur, gloriam propriam quaerit.*

18. **opus bonum:** for the phrase, cf. Philip, 1, 6, *qui coepit in vobis opus bonum, perficiet.*

19. **ut loquatur nobis deus quomodo volumus . . . hilariter:** for the thought, cf. *De Doctr. Christ.* 4, 15, *quis novit quid ad praesens tempus, vel nobis dicere, vel per nos expediat audiri, nisi qui corda omnium videt,* etc. **hilariter:** p. c. Cf. Sap. 6, 17, *et in viis ostendit se illis hilariter.*

20. **diligentibus . . . omnia concurrant:** the Vulgate version of Rom. 8, 28 reads, *scimus autem quoniam diligentibus deum omnia cooperantur in bonum;* the Old Latin version, *omnia procedunt in bonis.* Most probably Augustine's use of *concurrant* here is not a slip of the memory but is the reading of some other Old Latin version. Ambr. *Hex.* 1, 6, has *omnia concurrunt in bonum.*

CHAPTER 12.

(17) *The remedy for the third cause of weariness: to sympathize with the learner. If we have sympathy it will not bore us to repeat well-known truths; for then what is new to our learners will seem new to us.*

1. **usitata . . . repetere fastidimus:** repetition, the bane of a teacher's existence. Cf. Iuv. *Sat.* 7, 154, *occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.*

2. **in invicem:** = ἐν ἀλλήλοις. From Livy on, *invicem inter se, invicem se,* or *invicem* alone, is often used to express reciprocal relations. In p. c. Latin, particularly in Biblical Latin, *invicem* was considered as indeclinable, and construed with the prepositions *ab, ad, in, ex,* and *pro* (cf. Ioan. 6, 43, *nolite murmurare in invicem;* Marc. 12, 7, *dixerunt ad invicem.*) Cf. Rönsch 232; Kaulen, 167; Goelzer, 412; Ph. Thielmann, *Der Ersatz des Reciprocums im Lateinischen,* in *Archiv* 7 (1892), 343; S. S. 620, 16; Salonius, 238. Montgomery, 133, observes that one particular form of "crowd psychology" was especially familiar to Augustine, namely, what may be called oratorical sympathy, the *rapport* between speaker and audience.

3. **discamus . . . quae docemus:** this expression is proverbial. Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 7, 8, *homines dum docent, discunt;* Ambr. *De Off.* 1, 1, 4, *discendum igitur mihi simul et docendum est.* Cf. Otto, 118.

4. **sine aliqua voluptate:** = *sine ulla voluptate.* Cf. Ch. 1, N. 21.

5. **tanto magis, quanto sunt amiciores . . . per amoris vinculum:** Augustine never misses an opportunity of emphasizing the importance of love for the success of any work. Cf. Aug.

Tract. in Ioan. Ev. 48, 1, *non ergo recusetur labor, si adest amor: nosti enim, quoniam qui amat non laborat. Omnis enim labor non amantibus gravis est;* cf. Aug. *De Bono Vid.* 21, 26, *nullo modo enim sunt onerosi labores amantium.* **per amoris vinculum:** cf. Osee 11, 4, *traham eos in vinculis caritatis.*

5ª. **in quantum . . . in tantum:** = *quantum . . . . tantum.* The practice of adding the preposition *in* to these correlatives goes back to Seneca, Tacitus, and Pliny. It occurs but rarely in verse; cf. Iuv. *Sat.* 14, *in quantum sitis atque fames et frigora poscunt,* with J. E. B. Mayor's note; also S. S. 609, 3.

6. **si in rebus contemplandis aliquantum profecimus, non volumus eos quos diligimus laetari et stupere, cum intuentur opera manuum hominum:** if we have made any progress in meditation and contemplation we do not wish to see our friends gross materialists who wonder at the artisan's work instead of at the artisan himself. For the expression, *in rebus contemplandis,* cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 19, 44, *totosque nos in contemplandis rebus perspiciendisque ponemus;* for the expression *contemplandis . . . cum intuentur,* cf. Cic. *Pro Planc.* 2, *cum intueor et contemplor unumquemque vestrum;* for the expression, *opera manuum hominum,* cf. Ps. 113, 4, *simulacra gentium argentum et aurum, opera manuum hominum.*

7. **volumus eos in ipsam artem consiliumve institutoris adtollere, atque inde surgere:** the teleological argument for the existence of God. Cf. Ps. 19, 1; Is. 42, 5; Iob 12, 9; Sap. 1, 13; Rom. 1, 20, *invisibilia enim ipsius, a creatura mundi per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta, conspiciuntur;* Aristotle *De Mundo* 6; Philo *De Praem. et Poen.* 7, οἷα διά τινος οὐρανίου κλίμακος ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων εἰκότι λογισμῷ στοχασάμενοι τὸν δημιουργόν. For the Stoic proof of the existence of God, cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2, 15, *ut si quis in domum aliquam aut in gymnasium aut in forum venerit, cum videat omnium rerum rationem, modum, disciplinam, non possit ea sine causa fieri iudicare, sed esse aliquem intellegat, qui praesit et cui pareatur; multo magis in tantis motionibus . . . in quibus nihil umquam immensa et infinita vetustas mentita sit, statuat necesse est ab aliqua mente tantos naturae motus gubernari;* id. 2, 4, *quid enim potest esse tam apertum tamque perspicuum, cum caelum suspeximus caelestiaque contemplati sumus, quam esse aliquod*

numen praestantissimae mentis, quo haec regantur; id. *Tusc.* 1, 28, 70, *haec igitur et alia innumerabilia cum cernimus, possumusne dubitare, quin iis praesit aliquis vel effector . . . ut deum adgnoscis ex operibus eius, sic ex memoria . . . vim divinam adgnoscito;* id. *De Leg.* 1, 8; id. *Arusp.* 9; Tert. *Apol.* 17; *Athenag.* 4; Min. Fel. *Oct.* 17, 4; Lact. *Inst. div.* 1, 2, 5; Greg. Naz. 28, 16. For various proofs of the existence of God in the Fathers, cf. Van Endert, *Der Gottesbeweis in der patristischen Zeit* (Freiburg, 1861). **artem consiliumve:** for *ars* as used here in the sense of the constructive imagination, cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2, 57, *censet enim artis maxime proprium esse creare et gignere;* Arist. *Eth.* 6, 4, § 4, τέχνη πᾶσα περὶ γένεσιν; also Aug. *Tract. in Ev. Ioann.* 1, 17, *Faber facit arcam. Primo in arte habet arcam: si enim in arte arcam non haberet, unde illam fabricando proferret. Sed arca sic est in arte, ut non ipsa arca sit quae videtur oculis. In arte invisibiliter est, in opere visibiliter erit. Sic ergo . . . Sapientia Dei, per quam facta sunt omnia, secundum artem continet omnia, antequam fabricet omnia;* cf. also Aug. *De Civ. Dei,* 11, 21, *sed sic ostendere voluit artifici suo placuisse iam factum, quod placuerat in arte faciendum; De Gen. contra Manichaeos* 1, 8, 13, *sed quod videt artifex intus in arte, hoc foris probat in opere.*

8. **admirationem laudemque:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 3, 101, *admiratio ac summa laus.*

9. **omnicreantis:** coined by Augustine. It occurs also in *Conf.* 11, 13. This compound adjective is built on the analogy of *omnipotens.* Compound verbs, in imitation of the Greek, were early felt to be unsuited to the genius of the Latin language. Cf. Duff's note on Lucr. 1, 3, *navigerum . . . frugiferentis.*

10. **ubi:** = *apud quem.* The pronominal use of such adverbs as *ubi, inde, unde,* became very popular in p. c. Latin. Cf. S. S. 629, 29. Note the pronominal use of *ci, vi, ne,* in Italian; *en, y, dont,* in French.

11. **finis:** for the thought, cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei,* 22, 30, 1, *ipse* (*deus*) *finis desideriorum nostrorum.*

12. **discere homines accedunt:** the use of the infinitive to express purpose after a verb of motion is restricted in classical Latin to poetry. It occurs frequently in p. c. Latin, particularly in

Biblical Latin, where it would seem to be in imitation of a similar Greek construction. Cf. Luc. 8, 35, *exierunt autem videre* (ἐξῆλθον δὲ ἰδεῖν).

13. **praedicatio:** as used here in the meaning of 'preaching' is p. c. Cf. 1 Cor. 15, 14, *inanis est ergo praedicatio nostra.*

14. **de qua erroris morte in vitam fidei:** for the comparison, cf. 1 Ioan. 3, 14, *nos scimus quoniam translati sumus de morte ad vitam;* id. 5, 24, *amen, amen, dico vobis, quia qui verbum meum audit . . . sed transiit a morte in vitam.*

15. **cum benefica hilaritate:** with the expression, cf. Cic. *De Off.* 2, 9, 33, *voluntate benefica.* In such expressions the adjective is the equivalent of a genitive substantive. Cf. Nägelsbach, 189. In this chapter we recognize Augustine's two great virtues: a burning love of God and an all-embracing love of his fellow-men, whose feelings he has analyzed better perhaps than any writer before his time or since. Augustine throughout this treatise exhibits himself as possessing what Newman ascribes to St. John Chrysostom, "a versatile recognition of men." Cf. Newman, *Historical Sketches,* 2, 286. C. Bindemann in his great work, *Der hl. Augustinus* (Berlin, 1869, p. 21), observes *"Bei Augustinus stehen Leben und Lehre in dem verbundensten Zusammenhang."*

16. **demonstramus viam:** in classical Latin the expressions *monstrare viam* (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 382, *monstrante viam*) and *commonstrare viam* occur, but not *demonstrare viam.* The word usually found with *demonstrare* is *iter.* Cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 1, 46, 203, *atque itinera ipsa ita putavi esse demonstranda, non ut ipse dux essem, quod et infinitum est et non necessarium, sed ut commonstrarem tantum viam.* The expression does occur, however, in the Scriptures. Cf. Ps. 24, 4, *vias tuas, Domine, demonstra mihi;* cf. also Aug. *De Div. Quaest. ad Simp.* 1, 2, c. 8.

17. **doctrina salutari:** cf. 1 Tim. 1, 10, *et si quid aliud sanae doctrinae adversatur.*

18. **itinera pacis:** for the phrase, cf. Prov. 2, 13, *itinera autem tua in pace producet.*

CHAPTER 13.

(18, 19) *The remedy against the fourth cause of weariness: the apathy of the learner. He may be overawed; may be too bashful to express his opinion; may fail to understand; may not agree. He should be dealt with accordingly: no stereotyped form of instruction for all alike will do.*

1. **multum est perdurare in loquendo:** *multum est* = 'it is difficult.' For this p. c. meaning, cf. Aug. *Hom.* 70, 3, *quod si ad te multum est hoc videre, saltem quod non vides hoc crede,* where the meaning evidently is 'but if it is too hard a thing for thee to see this much, at least believe this which thou seest not.' Cf. also Aug. *De Civ. Dei* 5, 21, *tamen multum est ad nos et valde superat vires nostras* ('nevertheless it is difficult for us, and far surpasses our strength'). *Multum est* in classical Latin usually means 'it is important.' Cf. Verg. *Geor.* 2, 272, *adeo in teneris consuescere multum est.* **perdurare in loquendo:** *perdurare* usually takes *in* with the accusative in classical Latin; in p. c. Latin we frequently find it with the ablative. Cf. Souter's note on *perdurare* in his study of *Ambrosiaster,* 124.

2. **religionis timore constrictus:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *Pro Balb.* 12, *noluerunt religione videri potius quam veritate fidem esse constrictam.*

3. **aliquo . . . timor . . . pellendus est:** *aliquo* = *ullo.* Cf. Ch. 1, N. 21. **timor . . . pellendus est:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5, 812, *nunc quoque mens eadem perstat mihi: pelle timores.* Cf. Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* 5, 18.

3ª. **fraternam societatem:** Augustine himself tells us that before his conversion he was drawn to St. Ambrose not so much by the latter's teaching, as because he saw in Ambrose a fellow-creature who was kind to him. Cf. *Conf.* 5, 13, 23, *et eum amare coepi primo quidem non tamquam doctorem veri, quod in ecclesia tua prorsus desperabam, sed tamquam hominem benignum in me.*

4. **fortassis . . . tamquam nota et pervulgata non moveant:** in classical Latin *fortassis* and *fortasse* take the indicative. Cf. S. S. 418, 218. **nota et pervulgata:** for the phrase cf. Suet. *Aug.*

94, *nota ac vulgata res.* Augustine employed the acroamatic or lecture method in catechizing. This method was, of course, best adapted for the *narratio.* However, from time to time during the *narratio* he made use of the erotematic or question-and-answer method, not to impart instruction but to ascertain whether or not the candidate was following him; just as before beginning the *narratio* he interrogated the prospective candidate. Cf. Ch. 5, S. 9, *quodsi defuerit alius a quo id noverimus, etiam ipse interrogandus est, ut ex eo quod responderit ducamus sermonis exordium;* cf. Ch. 8, S. 12, *nec ipse sane inutiliter interrogatur, quibus rebus motus sit ut velit esse Christianus.* Augustine, therefore, in this treatise combines the acroamatic and the erotematic method: the former he uses to impart the knowledge of Christian doctrine; the latter, to guide him in his choice of subject-matter and method of presentation, so that the discourse may be adapted to the capacity and peculiarities of the candidate (cf. Ch. 9, S. 13). In Ch. 8, S. 10 he writes *cetera vero secundum regulas doctrinae salutaris . . . narranda vel disserenda sunt:* the catechist must judge for himself whether the instruction should take the form of a lecture or of a discussion. This is the first treatise on catechesis in which the pedagogical value of suggestive questions (*Hilfsfrage*) is brought out. Of course these questions are not to be confused with the formal questions put to the catechumen when he made his profession of faith. Cf. Ch. 26, N. 1. Holtzmann in his article, *Die Katechese der alten Kirche* (in *Theologische Abhandlungen, Carl von Weizsäcker zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstage gewidmet, Freiburg,* 1892, p. 108), writing of this treatise observes, "*Der Vortrag selbst soll die Form zusammenhängender Mittheilungen über die Heilsgeschichte aufweisen. Augustinus hat dafür den Kunstausdruck narratio. Hier also tritt die akroamatische Lehrweise des Alterthums mit prinzipieller Schärfe hervor. Sie beherrschte sicher ebenso den nachfolgenden Taufunterricht, wenn es auch in der Natur der Sache gelegen war, dass man den Katechumenen die Formeln, die sie sich anzueignen hatten, so lange vorsprechen musste, bis sie dieselben sich eingeprägt hatten und nachzusprechen vermochten. Nur als äusserstes Auskunftsmittel empfiehlt Augustin, also zunächst für jene erste Rede, die Fragemethode, und zwar erstlich, um gleich zu Anfang von dem Aufzunehmenden zu erfahren, in quo statu animi sit* (9), *zweitens während des Vortrags,*

cum moveri non videmus audientem, so dass interrogatione quaerendum utrum intelligat (18), *drittens am Schlusse, an haec credat atque observare desideret* (50). *Das wären also die Ansätze zur Examen- und zur Bekenntnissfrage.*"

5. **mystice:** p. c. Cf. Goelzer, 195.

6. **misericorditer:** cf. Ch. 6, N. 2.

7. **catholicae:** sc. '*ecclesiae.*' African writers frequently use '*catholica*' thus elliptically. Cf. Tert. *De Praescrip.* 30, *nam constat illos . . . in catholicae primo doctrinam credidisse.* P. Odilo Rottmanner in his classic study *Catholica* in *R. B.* 14 (1900), p. 1 ff. (reprinted in *Geistesfrüchte,* p. 74 ff.), has shown that Augustine uses *catholica* 240 times to designate *ecclesia catholica.* To Rottmanner's examples add *Contra Epist. Parmeniani,* Lib. II, 4, 8, *non ideo, quia non possumus innumerabiles sanctos in catholica episcopos intueri* (this example is noted by Dr. Souter in his *Patristica* in *J. Th. S.* 11 (1909), 149). The Louvain edition is wrong, therefore, in inserting *fidei* after *catholicae.* Rev. O. R. Vassall-Phillips in *The Work of St. Optatus Bishop of Milevis against the Donatists* (London, 1917), p. 50, note (a), observes "ἡ καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία or Ecclesia Catholica almost always means, in the Fathers, the Church militant on earth at the time when they wrote. Thus even at the beginning of the second century the word Catholic is used by St. Ignatius (*Ep. ad Smyrn.* 8) for the true Church throughout the world, in contrast with heretical sects. It is also found four times in *The Letter of the Church of Smyrna on the Martyrdom of the holy Polycarp:* Τῆς ἁγίας καὶ καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας (*ad init.*); Τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας (VIII, XIX); Τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας."

8. **terribiliter:** p. c. Cf. Ps. 138, 14, *quia terribiliter magnificatus es.* For the Scripture allusion, cf. Ioel, 2, 11, *magnus enim dies domini, et terribilis valde;* Hebr. 10, 27, *terribilis autem quaedam exspectatio iudicii.* This adverb likewise occurs not infrequently in Augustine, cf. *De Civ. Dei,* 10, 13, *cum igitur oporteret Dei legem . . . terribiliter dari.*

9. **magisque pro illo ad deum quam illi de deo multa dicenda:** note figure of polyptoton: *ad deum . . . de deo.* The expression *dicere ad aliquem* is classical in the meaning of 'to plead before

some one' (cf. Cic. *De op. Gen. Orat.* 4, 10). *Dicere ad aliquem* in the meaning 'to speak to someone' is p. c., being a literal translation of the Greek εἰπεῖν πρός τινα (cf. Luc. 2, 34, *et dixit ad Mariam matrem eius:* καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς Μαριὰν τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ). The expression *ad deum dicere* to designate prayer was in keeping with the Platonist doctrine that prayer consisted in a communion or converse with the divine. Cf. the expression of Clement of Alexandria in *Strom.* 7, 7, 39, ὁμιλία πρὸς τὸν θεόν. For the thought, cf. Aug. *De Doctr. Christ.* 4, 32, *Agit itaque noster iste eloquens, cum et iusta et sancta et bona dicit, neque enim alia debet dicere; agit ergo quantum potest cum ista dicit, ut intelligenter, ut obedienter audiatur: et haec se posse, si potuerit, et in quantum potuerit, pietate magis orationum, quam oratorum facultate non dubitet; ut orando pro se, ac pro illis quos est allocuturus, sit orator antequam dictor.* As the gift of faith is a grace, Augustine insists on the necessity of praying for the candidate; prayer on the part of the catechist being more important than the actual instruction.

10. **hilaritate conditum:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* 12, 40, 3, *hilaritatem illam, qua hanc tristitiam temporum condiebamus.* The Homilies on the Gospel of St. John furnish numerous instances of how Augustine enlivened his discourses from time to time with sallies of wit and humorous allusions.

11. **mirandum et stupendum:** for the phrase, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10, 446, *miratus stupet;* Act. 2, 7, *stupebant autem omnes, et mirabantur;* Cypr. *De Opere et Eleemos.* 6, *mirantibus ac stupentibus cunctis.* Augustine is fond of this expression. Cf. *De Doctr. Christ.* 4, 10, *admiror et stupeo; De Gen. ad Lit.* 12, 40; *Conf.* 5, 3, 4, *et mirantur haec homines et stupent; Ep.* 25, 2, *quanto admirer stupore; Ep.* 199, 23, *stupebant admirantes.*

12. **offendat eius verecundiam:** for the thought, cf. Cic. *De Am.* 82, *maximum ornamentum amicitiae tollit, qui ex ea tollit verecundiam.* For the expression, cf. Cic. *De Off.* 1, 99, *iustitiae partes sunt non violare homines, verecundiae non offendere.*

13. **oblata sessione:** in his sermons, likewise, Augustine shows himself solicitous for the bodily comfort of his hearers. Augustine in his day recognized a fact that has been brought out very strikingly by Francis Thompson in his essay, "*Health and Holi-*

ness," namely, that there is a very subtle and intimate connection between the spiritual and the corporal. One reason for Augustine's thoughtfulness and consideration was the fact that he himself was of a very weak constitution, as appears from his *Confessions,* sermons, and letters; (cf. e. g. *Ep.* 38).

14. **quamquam . . . fiat:** = *quamquam . . . fit.* Cf. Ch. 4, N. 15.

15. **transmarinis:** that is, in the churches of Italy. Cf. Ch. 10, N. 17.

15ª. **antistites sedentes:** in the African Church the office of preaching was reserved strictly to the bishop. By special permission Augustine, while still a *presbyter,* preached in presence of his bishop; cf. Possid. *Vita Aug.* 5. **sedentes:** in Africa it was the custom for the preacher to deliver his sermon sitting; cf. Aug. *Hom.* 28, *quare hic sedeo? Quare vivo, nisi hac intentione, ut cum Christo simul vivamus; Hom.* 49, *ut ego vos non diu teneam, praesertim quia ego sedens loquor, vos stando laboratis.* Augustine intimates that in Italy both the preacher and the people sat.

16. **loquuntur ad populum:** *loqui* with the preposition *ad* in classical Latin always means 'to address.' Cf. Cic. *In Verr.* 1, 27, *ad populum loqui.*

17. **multum interest si:** = *multum interest utrum.* The use of *si* instead of *utrum* to introduce an indirect question occurs rather frequently in p. c. Latin. Cf. S. S. 521, 284. This use of *si* after *interest* and similar verbs is not to be confounded with a *si* clause after such verbs as *exspecto, experior,* meaning 'in the hope that,' 'to see.' Of course this classical use of *si* approaches very closely the interrogative particle. Cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* 16, 2, 4, *exspectabam si quid scriberes.*

18. **inevitabiliter:** adverb coined by Augustine. It occurs for the first time in *De Quantitate Animae,* 22, 37. Add these two instances to N. W. 2, 693, both of which are earlier than the one cited (*Enchiridion,* 13).

19. **expertus haec dico:** a proverbial expression. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11, 283, *experto credite;* Prop. 2, 34, 3, *expertus dico, nemo est in amore fidelis;* Cic. *Pro Mil.* 26, 29, *experti scire debemus;*

Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.* 403, *παθὼν ἔγνως*; Aug. Serm. 361, 9, *experto credens;* Otto, 127.

20. **viros fratres . . . sedere non facimus:** = *viri fratres . . . ut sedeant non facimus.* For the construction, cf. Ch. 4, N. 13. For the expression *viros fratres,* cf. Act. 1, 15, *viri fratres* which is a Grecism (*ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί*).

21. **cui assistunt angeli:** *assistere* = *adesse, opitulari,* from the time of Seneca on. It is frequently used in this meaning in Scripture and in Ecclesiastical writers. **angeli:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'angels.' Cf. Kaulen, 99. With this phrase, cf. *Roman Missal, Preface for the Blessing of Palms: cui assistunt angeli.* It is interesting to note how many expressions of the Fathers have been incorporated in prayers of the liturgy. Cf. Dom A. Mauser, *Ambrosiuszitat in einer Votivmesse* in *Jahrbuch f. Liturgiewissenschaft,* 1 (1921), 82.

22. **sedens mulier audiebat:** cf. Luc. 10, 39, *et huic erat soror nomine Maria, quae etiam sedens secus pedes domini, audiebat verbum illius.*

23. **initiandi:** used in classical Latin of 'initiation' into secret religious rites (cf. Cic. *De Leg.* 2, 15, 37, *initienturque eo ritu Cereri, quo Romae initiantur*). It was taken over by Christian writers, particularly Tertullian and Cyprian, and applied to 'admission to the catechumenate.'

24. **saltem animadverso auditoris taedio:** there are likewise frequent references to sleepiness and weariness on the part of the candidates in St. Cyril's *Catechetical Lectures.* Cf. 12, 22; 16, 25; 17, 20; 18, 17.

25. **saecularium negotiorum:** for the expression, cf. 2 Tim. 2, 4, *nemo . . . implicat se negotiis saecularibus.*

26. **ne morbum . . . augeat ipsa medicina:** the idea of a remedy being sometimes worse than the disease itself is proverbial in Latin. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12, 46, *aegrescitque medendo.*

CHAPTER 14.

(20) *The remedy for the fifth cause. If we desire all our time and all that we do to be at God's disposal, the being interrupted in the midst of more congenial work will not annoy us.*

(21, 22) *The remedy against the sixth cause. If because of some scandal we are not in the mood to give an instruction, the thought of Christ's love for us should serve to console and encourage us. The danger likewise that our learner may be lost to Christ should act as a motive for making our appeal all the more earnest.*

1. **suspensus:** in classical Latin *suspensus* usually refers to the preoccupation, worry, and distraction arising from care and responsibility. Cf. Cic. *Philip.* 7, 1, *animus aberrat a sententia, suspensus curis maioribus.* The ordinary expression in classical Latin for 'to be engaged' in study or work is *impensus.* Cf. Quint. *Inst. Orat.* 1, 1, *post impetratam studiis meis quietem, quae per viginti annos erudiendis iuvenibus impenderam.* For a similar use of *suspendere* in Augustine, cf. *Conf.* 5, 13, *verbis eius suspendebar intentus.*

2. **omissio:** p. c. It first occurs in Symmachus, *Ep.* 3, 48. There is a tendency in p. c. Latin to substitute verbal nouns for verbs: the ordinary classical construction for *alterius actionis omissio* would be *altera actio omissa.*

3. **insuaviter:** this adverb first occurs in this treatise. Cf. N. W. 2, 695.

4. **ergo:** the particle *ergo* resumes the thread of the sentence broken off by the long parenthesis.

5. **intermittamus . . . omittamus:** paronomasia.

6. **non novimus:** = *nescimus.* In p. c. Latin *novi* and *scio* are frequently used interchangeably. Cf. Goelzer, 305; K. S. 2, 168; also Mayor's note on *scit illum* in Tert. *Apol.* 5.

7. **aut nulla aut tenuissima et incertissima coniectura suspicamur:** figure of hysteron proteron for *aut tenuissima . . . aut nulla.* Cicero is very fond of this figure. Cf. *Pro Arch.* 5, 10,

aut nulla aut humili aliqua arte praeditos; Acad. 2, 26, 82, *ut oculi aut nihil mentiantur aut non multum.* The figure cannot be reproduced in English here, as it would form an anticlimax. For the phrase, *coniectura suspicamur,* cf. Cic. *Brut.* 107, *tantum modo coniectura ducor ad suspicandum.*

8. **pro nostro captu:** = 'according to our mental capacity.' *Captus* has the meaning of 'mental capacity' in classical Latin, but it never occurs with a preposition. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 2, 27, 65, *ut est captus hominum. Pro captu* is found in Seneca but in quite a different meaning from Augustine's. Cf. *De Clem.* 1, 19, 2, *iracundissimae ac pro corporis captu* ('and for the size of their bodies, that is, considering the size of their bodies') *pugnacissimae sunt apes.* Apuleius has *'pro meo captu'* in the meaning of 'in my humble opinion.' Cf. Apul. *Apol.* 7, 16; *Flor.* 9.

9. **flectamur facile, ne frangamur:** a proverbial expression, which, in varied forms, runs through all periods of Latin Literature. For other examples, cf. Carl Weyman, *Zu den Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer,* in *Archiv* 13 (1904), 255. To this list add, Liv. 2, 23, 18, *Servilius . . . concitatos animos flecti quam frangi putabat;* Cic. *Pro Sulla* 18, 19, *quibus ego rebus, iudices, ita flectebar animo atque frangebar; Caecin.* 20, *ius civile neque inflecti neque perfringi potentia . . . debet.*

10. **quia et ordo . . . ille utique approbandus est:** a favorite form of pleonasm in Scripture. Cf. Iudith, 6, 17, *deus patrum nostrorum, cuius tu virtutem praedicasti, ipse tibi hanc dabit vicissitudinem.* For the use of the particle *utique* with the gerundive, cf. Ch. 6, N. 4.

11. **quid agat:** this saying of Augustine's on the necessity of preferring God's will to our own was frequently quoted by mediæval writers.

12. **qui paratior est non agere quod divina potestate prohibetur, quam cupidior agere quod humana cogitatione meditatur:** considering his fondness for anaphora, I am inclined to believe that Augustine here used *meditatur* passively; it is thus used occasionally in p. c. Latin. Cf. Min. Fel. *Oct.* 25, *tractantur lenocinia, adulteria meditantur.*

13. **multae cogitationes sunt,** etc.: cf. Prov. 19, 21, *multae cogitationes in corde viri; voluntas autem domini permanebit.*

14. **perturbatus animus:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 515, . . . *sed res animos incognita turbat;* also Aug. *De lib. Arb.* 1, 1, c. 22, *animum . . . perturbet; De vera Relig.* c. 17.

15. **pretio sanguinis sui:** cf. 1 Cor. 6, 20, *empti enim estis pretio magno;* 1 Pet. 1, 19, *non redempti estis . . . sed pretioso sanguine quasi agni immaculati Christi.*

16. **ad consolationem . . . illius tristitiae:** 'for the alleviating of this grief.' For *consolatio* with this shade of meaning, cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* 1, 17, 16, *timoris consolatio.*

17. **dolorem lenire:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4, 393, *at pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem | solando cupit et dictis avertere curas.*

18. **non enim scandalum nos contristat alicuius:** the stumbling-block may be that which a man puts in his own way (*quem perire . . . credimus*) or in that of his neighbor (*aut per quem perire infirmum . . . credimus*). *Alicuius* = *cuiusquam.* Cf. Ch. 1, N. 21.

19. **initiandus advenit:** cf. Ch. 1, N. 9.

20. **dolorem . . . abstergat:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *Ad Quint. Frat.* 2, 8, 3, *omnem abstergebo dolorem.* In classical Latin *abstergere* is found with forms of the second and third conjugation. In p. c. Latin, particularly in the Scriptures, it frequently follows, as here, the third conjugation. Cf. Apoc. 7, 17, *et absterget Deus omnem lacrymam ab oculis eorum.*

21. **proselytus filius gehennae:** *proselytus* is p. c. In the Old Testament *proselytus* = *advena, peregrinus.* Cf. Tob. 1, 7. In the New Testament it was applied to a convert from heathenism to the Jewish religion. Cf. Matth. 23, 15, *vae vobis, scribae et Pharisaei hypocritae, quia circuitis mare et aridam, ut faciatis unum proselytum; et cum fuerit factus, facitis eum filium gehennae duplo quam vos.* **gehennae:** a valley near Jerusalem where children were offered to Moloch; hence used in Scripture to designate hell. Cf. H. D. B. s. v.

22. **versantur ante oculos:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *In Cat.* 4, 6, *versatur mihi ante oculos.*

23. **ea quibus urimur scandala:** figure of hyperbaton. 2 Cor. 11, 29, *quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror.*

24. **ad excitandos et acuendos:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *Ep.* 15, 21, 4, *in excitando et in acuendo.*

25. **non ipsa veritate, sed solo nomine:** 'really,' 'actually,' as opposed to 'in name only,' is usually expressed in classical Latin by *re vera, re ipsa,* or *re* alone. Cf. Ogilvie-Souter, 232.

26. **fomitem:** first found in its metaphorical meaning (as here) in Gell. 15, 2, 3, *fomes et incitabulum ingenii virtutisque.* For other metaphorical uses of this word, cf. Mayor, *Latin Heptateuch,* 106. For the thought that grief and sorrow make us sympathetic, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 630, *non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.*

27. **accensius:** p. c. First occurs in this treatise; it is not listed in the *T. L. L.* or N. W.

28. **frigidius et lentius:** for the phrase, cf. Cicero's combination of the corresponding adjectives. *Brut.* 178 *T. Iuventius nimis ille quidem lentus in dicendo et paene frigidus.*

28ª. **occasionem dari:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *Ep.* 12, 24, 2, *ut primum occasio data est.*

28ᵇ. **motus animi:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *Brut.* 93, *cum motus omnis animi tamquam ventus hominem defecerat.*

29. **maestitudo:** p. c. form of *maestitia.* The use of the ending *-tudo* instead of *-tia* is an archaism which was rather popular, particularly among ecclesiastical writers. Cf. Goelzer, 106; Cooper, 44.

30. **sacrificium . . . spiritum esse contribulatum:** cf. Ps. 50, 19, *sacrificium deo spiritus contribulatus. Contribulatus* is p. c. Cf. Kaulen, 206.

31. **quia sicut aqua ignem, sic eleemosyna exstinguit peccatum:** *quia* here corresponds to ὅτι. *Quia,* not *quod* or *quoniam,* is used by ecclesiastical writers to introduce, as here, a Scripture quotation; we may, therefore, call *quia* the quotation-mark for Scripture texts. Cf. *Reg. S. Benedicti,* 55, 34, *consideretur illa sententia Actuum Apostolorum, quia dabatur singulis prout cuique opus erat.* Cf. Salonius, 162; Linderbauer, 302. For the Scripture reference, cf. Ecclus. 3, 33 *ignem ardentem exstinguit aqua, et eleemosyna resistit peccatis. Eleemosyna* is p. c. Cf. Kaulen, 103. On the value of alms-giving for the remission of sin, cf. Ambr. *De Laps. Virg.* 8; Chrysost. *Hom.* 6 *in* 2 *Tim.* 2; Leo Mag. *Serm.* 10, 16.

32. **misericordiam . . . volo quam sacrificium:** the use of the simple verb here to express the comparative (*volo* = *magis volo*) is a Grecism, being a literal translation of the Septuagint. Cf. Osee 6, 6, ἔλεος θέλω ἢ θυσίαν. The Old Latin version and the Vulgate read, *misericordiam volo, et non sacrificium.* Augustine likewise follows the Septuagint in *De Civ. Dei* 20, 24, *misericordiam volo quam sacrificium,* but in *De Serm. Dom.* 1, 80, he writes *misericordiam volo magis quam sacrificium,* and in *Enarr. in Ps.* 49, 12 *misericordiam volo plus quam sacrificium.*

33. **de proximo:** p. c. writers were fond of forming new adverbial expressions from a preposition and the neuter of the corresponding adjective. Cf. S. S. 413, 147.

34. **foeno:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'concupiscence' or *'fomes peccati.'* Cf. Tert. *De Resurr.* 59, *demere foenum carnis immundae.* This use of *foenum* grew out of 1 Cor. 3, 12, *si quis autem superaedificat super fundamentum hoc, aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, ligna, foenum, stipulam.* Augustine comments on this passage in *Enarr. in Ps.* 29, 2, 9, *aedificabant tamen quidam eorum ligna, foenum, stipulam in affectibus carnalium et saecularium curarum: sed tamen quia Christum fundamentum habebant super quod aedificabant, arsit foenum, et ipsi remanserunt in fundamento; Enarr. in Ps.* 18, 2, 7, *sicut ignis venit Spiritus sanctus, foenum carnis consumpturus.*

35. **misericordissimi:** the superlative form is p. c. Cf. Sidon. *Ep.* 8, 6, 11. Add this reference to those cited from Augustine in N. W. 2, 254.

36. **serve nequam et piger,** etc.: cf. Matth. 25, 26, *serve male et piger . . . oportet ergo te committere pecuniam meam nummulariis.* The Old Latin version reads, *Nequam serve, male et piger.*

37. **quae tandem dementia est:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *De Div.* 2, 94, *quae tanta dementia est.*

38. **dilectio, quae diffusa est,** etc.: cf. Rom. 5, 5, *spes autem non confundit, quia caritas dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis.*

CHAPTER 15.

(23) *The style of the discourse should be adapted to the audience.*

1. **priusquam promitterem:** = *priusquam promisi.* From Livy on there was a tendency to employ the subjunctive after *antequam* and *priusquam* even with reference to actual facts denoting merely priority of time. In p. c. writers the subjunctive has almost completely replaced the indicative. Cf. Butler's note on Apul. *Apol.* 2, 17, *priusquam . . . ageretur.* This preference for the subjunctive is especially noticeable in Biblical Latin. Cf. Ioan. 1, 48, *priusquam te Philippus vocaret* (= *vocavit*) *vidi te;* Riemann-Goelzer, 676, 2.

1ª. **debebam . . . debitum:** figure of translation, in which the same verb is repeated in a different grammatical construction. Cf. Caes. *B. G.* 1, 28, 4, *naves cum militibus reprehendunt, reprehensas excipiunt.* This figure is frequently employed in liturgical prayers. Cf. *Roman Missal, Post-communion for the fifth Sunday after Easter: tribue nobis, Domine, caelestis mensae virtute satiatis: et desiderare quae recta sunt, et desiderata percipere.*

2. **exemplum . . . intuendum:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *Pro Sest.* 19, *exemplum . . . intueri.*

3. **dictantis:** Augustine dictated this treatise. This accounts for its careless construction, verbosity, repetition, and other defects of improvisation. On Augustine's use of *notarii,* cf. R. J. Deferrari, *Method of composing and delivering Sermons,* in *A. J. P.* 43 (1922), 110; Mayor's note on *notarius,* Plin. *Ep.* 3, 5, 15 (p. 96). This practice of dictating their treatises as well as of extempore preaching had a harmful influence on the style of the Fathers. Cf. Boissier, 2, 354.

4. **dum . . . est . . . cum . . . circumstant:** in p. c. Latin *dum,* as here, is frequently used in the meaning of *cum* temporal. Linderbauer, 261, observes, *Die Partikel dum ist im Spätlatein überaus häufig geworden und ist besonders in weitem Umfang an die Stelle von cum getreten.* Cf. Friebel, 80; Rönsch, 400.

5. **ut sermocinatio conseratur; aliam, cum populus tacens unum de loco superiore dicturum suspensus intuetur:** for the

expression *ut sermocinatio conseratur,* cf. Curt. *Hist.* 8, 12, 9, *sine interprete non poterat conseri sermo.* On account of its association with *bellum, manum,* etc., *conserere* had originally the idea of a heated discussion, but like many other compound verbs in p. c. Latin, the force of the preposition has been lost, so that *conserere* = *serere* (cf. Liv. 3, 17, 10, *sermonem serere*). **populus tacens . . . suspensus intuetur:** for the description, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 151, *tum pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem | conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus adstant.* Cic. *De Or.* 3, 14, 53, *quem stupefacti dicentem intuentur.* **de loco superiore:** means literally 'to speak from an elevated position,' e. g., from the rostra, hence metaphorically to speak authoritatively or publicly. Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2, 2, 42, 102, *primum ipse in Sicilia saepe et palam de loco superiore dixerat;* id. *ad Fam.* 3, 8, 2, *et ex superiore et ex aequo loco;* id. *Tusc.* 1, 49, 116, *atque ita velut superiore e loco contionandum.* Inasmuch as in this passage *de loco superiore* is contrasted with *privatim,* it had better be translated 'publicly.' It is just possible that Augustine was thinking of the *ambo,* or pulpit, from which the catechetical instructions were frequently delivered. Cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei,* 2, 28, *ubi sancta scriptura . . . de superiore loco in conspectu omnium personante.* Cf. Bingham, 8, 4, 5; *Dictionary of Christ. Antiq.,* 1, 72, 263.

6. **multumque interest:** catechizing must be accommodated to the mental capacity of the candidate: a sound pedagogical principle. Cf. Quint. *Inst. orat.* 1, 2, 27; also Cic. *De Orat.* 3, 210, *perspicuum est non omni causae nec auditori neque personae neque tempori congruere orationis unum genus.* For an instance of how Augustine could adapt the exposition of a subject to the mental capacity of his audience, cf. his highly speculative disquisition on the 'Word' in *De Trin.* 1, with a popular explanation of the same subject in *Serm. De Trin.* 52, 18. What Wilfrid Ward writes of Cardinal Newman's insight (cf. *Last Lectures by Wilfrid Ward,* London, 1918, p. 125) applies to Augustine: "His consciousness (while writing) of the living minds with which his words were bringing him into contact was almost like a sixth sense. He was so acutely conscious of the effect of any sentence he wrote on the various minds of different classes of readers that merely objective treatment, which neglects the mentality of the reader or is designed for expert minds all on one plane, was impossible to him." New-

man himself writes (*Sermon Notes of John Henry Cardinal Newman,* London, 1913, p. 322): "I cannot determine what I shall lecture on till I know who will come, for the speaker speaks according to the hearers."

6ª. **mixti . . . temperatus sit:** for the collocation, cf. Cic. *De Off.* 3, 39, 119, *nec vero finis bonorum qui simplex esse debet, ex dissimilibus rebus misceri et temperari potest.*

6ᵇ. **rustici:** in classical Latin *rusticus* = 'a dweller *in* the country'; *rusticanus* = 'a man *from* the country' or 'an inhabitant of a *municipium.*' This distinction is observed by Augustine in this treatise. Cf. Ch. 13, S. 19 *homo rusticanus;* Ch. 16, S. 24, *de genere quidem idiotarum, non tamen rusticanorum, sed urbanorum.*

7. **locuturum atque dicturum:** the future participle is rarely used as a substantive in classical Latin; it is found frequently as a substantive in p. c. Latin. Cf. S. S. 611, 4. Cf. Lease, *The Use and Range of the future Participle,* in *A. J. P.* 40 (1919), 262. In classical Latin *loqui* refers more to the language of conversation, *dicere,* to formal, or public, speaking (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 58, *Scipio mihi sane bene et loqui videtur et dicere*). Augustine observes this distinction here when referring to the two classes of auditors, those whom you catechize privately and publicly. He has just mentioned these two classes: *et rursus in hoc ipso aliam, cum quasi privatim consedetur, ut sermocinatio conseratur; aliam, cum populus tacens unum de loco superiore dicturum suspensus intuetur.* For the same distinction in the use of these two verbs, cf. Aug. *De Doctr. Christ.* 4, 63, *sive autem apud populum . . . dicturus . . . si enim regina oravit Esther . . . locutura apud regem.*

7ª. **ut sermo . . . affectionis animi . . . vultum gerat:** cf. Cic. *In L. Pis.* 1, *voltus denique totus, qui sermo quidam tacitus mentis est;* id. *De Orat.* 3, 59, *imago animi vultus est.*

8. **ante:** = *coram.* These prepositions were often confused in p. c. Latin. Cf. Kaulen, 237.

9. **eruditum, inertem . . . honoratum:** note asyndeton throughout this passage. For this meaning of *honoratus* = *honoribus functus,* cf. Cic. *Orat.* 9, 32, *cum praesertim fuisset honoratus et nobilis.*

10. **constitutum:** frequently used in p. c. writers and regularly in the Scriptures, to take the place of the missing present participle of *sum*. Cf. Carl Goetz, *Constitutus = καθεστώς, ὤν bei Cyprian*, in *Archiv* 9 (1896), 307.

11. **illius aut illius aetatis,** etc.: the demonstrative *ille* is here used distributively. Cf. Cic. *Pro Rosc. Am.* 21, 59, *credo quaesisse num ille aut ille defensurus esset.*

12. **et procedit et progreditur et finitur . . . cum eadem omnibus debeatur caritas, non eadem est omnibus adhibenda medicina: et procedit,** etc.: note figure of polysyndeton. **cum eadem omnibus debeatur caritas,** etc.: with these hints as to how the various types of candidates are to be handled, it will be interesting to compare Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 2, 30, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τοῖς σώμασιν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν φαρμακείαν τε καὶ τροφὴν προσφέρονται, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλην, ἢ εὐεκτοῦντες ἢ κάμνοντες, οὕτω καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς διαφόρῳ λόγῳ καὶ ἀγωγῇ θεραπεύονται. κ.τ.λ.

13. **caritas alios parturit:** for the thought, cf. Aug. *Tract. in Ep. Ioan.* 2, 4, *parturiens parvulos mater caritas . . . exponit viscera sua, conscindit quodammodo verbis ubera sua.* The metaphor involved in *parturit* may have been suggested by Gal. 4, 19, *Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec formetur Christus in vobis.* Augustine would seem to have had the very human habit of quoting himself. One would almost think, at times, that he kept a commonplace book in which he noted down turns of expression and metaphors that particularly appealed to him.

13[a]. **cum aliis infirmatur:** cf. 1 Cor. 9, 22, *factus sum infirmis infirmus, ut infirmos lucrifacerem.*

14. **alios curat aedificare, alios contremescit offendere,** etc.: note anaphora throughout this passage. *Aedificare* is here used in its ecclesiastical meaning: 'to edify.' Cf. 1 Cor. 8, 1, *scientia inflat, caritas vero aedificat.* Lightfoot (*Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 191) traces this metaphorical meaning of 'to edify' to St. Paul's metaphor of the building of the Church.

15. **in cuius conspectum,** etc.: cf. Ps. 78, 11, *introeat in conspectu tuo gemitus compeditorum.*

16. **videat humilitatem nostram,** etc.: Ps. 24, 18, *vide humilitatem meam et laborem meum, et dimitte universa delicta mea.*

Note that though Augustine uses an Old Latin version in his quotations from the psalms, they resemble very closely the Vulgate version. This striking similarity in the two versions is due to the fact that in preparing the Vulgate version of the Psalms, Jerome did not make a new translation from the Hebrew, but twice revised the Old Latin version on the basis of the Septuagint. For the influence of the Psalter on the style and thought of Augustine, cf. Harnack, *Augustins Konfessionen* (1888), 10.

17. **observationem sermonis tui:** = *praecepta in sermone tuo observanda.* Dr. Souter has called my attention to the fact that the objective is the usual genitive after *observatio* in Augustine.

18. **cum haec dictamus:** another reference to the practice of dictating to a *notarius.* Cf. Ch. 15, N. 3.

19. **edisceres:** in classical Latin *ediscere* = 'to learn by heart,' though it is used by the poets in the meaning of 'to learn,' in which meaning it is employed here. In p. c. Latin the preposition had lost its force in many compound verbs. Cf. Cooper, 277; Bonnet, 231.

Chapters 16-27. The Practice of Catechesis.

CHAPTER 16.

(24, 25) *A model catechetical address. Our true rest is to be found not in the riches, honors, and pleasures of this world, but in God.*

1. **Carthaginem:** next to Rome in wealth and population ranked Alexandria and Carthage. At Carthage Augustine had received his education (cf. *Conf.* 3, 1), and of it he was extremely proud. Cf. Aug. *Ep.* 43, 7, *civitas ampla et illustris . . . fama celeberrima nobilis;* Ep. 118, 10, *duae tantum urbes, Latinarum linguarum artifices, Roma atque Carthago.* For a good description of Carthage, cf. Archbishop Benson, *Cyprian, his Life, his Times, his Work* (New York, 1907), pp. xxv-xxxvii.

1ª. **interrogatum . . . utrum . . . desiderat:** = *utrum . . . desideret.* The use of the indicative instead of the subjunctive in indirect questions occurs rather frequently in p. c. Latin, particularly in the Scriptures. This use may be traced back to collo-

quial Latin where it is found in paratactic constructions. Cf. S. S. 516, 282; Salonius, 310; Friebel, 91; Linderbauer, 122.

2. **Deo gratias:** elliptical for *Deo gratias agamus:* a liturgical formula and likewise a favorite form of salutation in the early Church. Cf. 1 Cor. 15, 57, *deo autem gratias, qui dedit nobis victoriam;* 2 Cor. 2, 14. In Africa it was employed by the Catholics; the Donatists having their own formula, *deo laudes.* Cf. Aug. *In Ps.* 132.

3. **tibi gratulor et gaudeo de te:** *gratulor* in the meaning of *laetari* is p. c. It occurs in Cyprian *Ep.* 8, 16 in this meaning. Cf. Dante, *Parad.* 24, 149, *gratulando per la novella* ('rejoicing at the news'). For the expression, cf. Philip. 2, 17, *gaudeo et congratulor omnibus vobis,* where *congratulor* is the translation of συνχαίρω; cf. also the *fifth antiphon at Lauds, Feast of St. Agnes: congaudete mecum, et congratulamini* (*Roman Breviary*).

4. **vera et certa:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *Acad.* 2, 103, *non inesse in iis propriam veri et certi notam.*

5. **magnis laboribus requiem quaerunt et securitatem:** Barker (p. 43), mistaking *magnis laboribus* for an ablative of means, translates: 'men seek rest and tranquillity at the price of heavy toil,' whereas *magnis laboribus* is an ablative of separation after *requiem:* 'men seek rest and tranquillity *from* heavy toil.' Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3, 393, *is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum;* id. *Georg.* 4, 184, *omnibus una quies laborum, labor omnibus unus;* Cic. *Cat.* 4, 4, *mors laborum ac miseriarum quies est;* Aug. *Ep.* 55, 17, *requies ab omni labore, ab . . . operibus requiescitur;* id. *Contra Adim. Man. Disc.* 1, 2, c. 1, *requievisse ab omnibus operibus;* id. *Conf.* 12, 26, 36, *requies laboris mei.* The thought is both Christian and Platonic. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 19, 44, *profecto beati erimus, cum corporibus relictis et cupiditatum et aemulationum erimus expertes.*

6. **requiescere in rebus inquietis:** figure of oxymoron. The inability of the soul to be satisfied with the fleeting things of time is a favorite theme with Augustine. Cf. *Conf.* 1, 1, 1, *quia fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te,* and Gibb and Montgomery's note.

7. **timoribus et doloribus:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *De Har. Resp.* 43, *Ti. Graccho senatus severitas dolori et timori fuit.*

8. **magis:** = *potius.* These adverbs are frequently confused in p. c. Latin. Cf. Bonnet, 451.

9. **perdiderint . . . perierint:** paronomasia. Cf. Suet. *Titus* 9, *periturum se potius quam perditurum se adiurans.* By a principle more common in Greek than in Latin, *perire* is frequently used as a passive of *perdere,* which is confined in its passive forms to *perditus* and *perdendus.*

10. **ipse illas sua morte desereret:** that a man must leave his riches behind him at death is a literary commonplace. Cf. Hor. *Od.* 2, 14, 21, *linquenda tellus et domus et placens | uxor, neque harum quas colis arborum | te praeter invisas cupressos | ulla brevem dominum sequetur.*

11. **quanta est enim vita hominis, etiamsi senescat:** that even the longest life is short is a favorite theme of the Scriptures and of the pagan philosophers. Cf. Iob, 7, 7, *memento quia ventus est vita mea;* cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 94, *quae vero aetas longa est, aut quid omnino homini longum.*

12. **senectutem . . . infirmitatem:** for the thought, cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 575, *senectus ipsa est morbus;* Sen. *Ep.* 108, 28, *senectus enim insanabilis morbus est.*

13. **typhus:** (τύφος) literally 'smoke.' Here used in its metaphorical meaning of 'vanity,' 'folly.' It first occurs in its metaphorical meaning in Arnobius, who borrowed it from the Greek. Cf. Arnob. *Contra Gentes,* 2, 3, *mentis elatio et typhus qui appellatur a Graecis.* Apuleius in his *Apologia,* 22, quotes a line from Crates in which τύφος is used metaphorically as above: πήρη τις πόλις ἐστὶ μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι τύφῳ. The whole of this quotation is preserved in Diog. Laert. 6, 85. Vallette (*L'Apologie d'Apulée,* Paris, 1908), quoted by Butler, 60, points out that τύφος in its metaphorical meaning of 'vanity' or 'folly of the world' was a technical term among the Stoics. Cf. Dion Prus. *Or.* 4, 72, ἀλλ' ἂν ἀπαλλαγῇς τοῦ τύφου καὶ τῶν νῦν πραγμάτων ἔσῃ βασιλεύς. This is one of the few Grecisms in Augustine that are not taken from Biblical Greek. Dr. Souter in *J. T. S.* 24 (1922), 213 observes, "to the best of

my belief *typhus* is confined to African writers (in Augustine specially frequent)." For other examples of its use in Augustine cf. *Conf.* 3, 3, *gaudebam superbe et tumebam typho; De Civ. Dei* 5, 33, *alteram tumentem typho.*

14. **omnis caro foenum . . . in aeternum:** cf. Isa. 40, 6, *omnis caro foenum, et omnis gloria eius quasi flos agri. Exsiccatum est foenum, et cecidit flos; verbum autem domini manet in aeternum.* Augustine has, of course, the Old Latin version in mind, which reads *claritas,* where the Vulgate habitually reads *gloria.* **in aeternum:** adverbial equivalents, consisting of the preposition *in* with the accusative neuter of the adjective, are p. c., and are frequently found in Biblical Latin. The most common of such expressions are: *in totum, in plenum, in universum, in aeternum.* Cf. S. S. 413, 147. Observe in this passage the difference between the Old Latin version, from which Augustine here quotes, and the Vulgate.

15. **praetereuntibus:** = *pereuntibus. Praeterire* in the meaning of *perire* ('to be transitory, perishable') is p. c. Cf. 1 Cor. 7, 31, *praeterit enim figura huius mundi.*

16. **eam collocare:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *In Cat.* 3, 20, *in quibus magnam tum spem maiores . . . collocarent.*

16ª. **haerens ei quod manet in aeternum:** for the thought, cf. Ps. 72, 28, *mihi autem adhaerere Domino bonum est;* Ps. 116, 2, *et veritas Domini manet in aeternum.*

16ᵇ. **pompas:** often used in ecclesiastical language of the vain show of the world and of the devil. Cf. the *Order of Baptism* in the *Roman Ritual: abrenuntias Satanae . . . et omnibus pompis eius?* Cf. Koffmane, 81.

17. **requiescere volunt in popinis:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *De Am.* 6, 22, *principio qui potest esse vita vitalis, quae non in amici mutua benevolentia conquiescit* ("which does not find peace and satisfaction in an interchange of kindness with a friend"). **popinis:** this word is often used of a low eating-house; hence synonymous with gluttony and gormandizing, and frequently with

debauchery. Such descriptions as this serve as valuable matter for a complete *Sittengeschichte* of the fifth century. Augustine never tires inveighing against the capital vices of his age, which were gluttony, lust, and a mad craving for theatrical spectacles and gladiatorial combats. For an interesting account of the efforts made by the early Fathers to combat these vices inherited from paganism, cf. E. Bickel, *Das asketische Ideal bei Ambrosius, Hieronymus u. Augustinus,* in *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altertumswissenschaft* 37 (1916), 437-474.

18. **fornicationibus:** p. c. in the meaning here of 'fornication.' Cf. Galat. 5, 19. *Fornicatio* was originally an architectural term synonymous with *fornix:* 'a vault' or 'arch.' For the development in the meaning of this word, cf. Wohleb, 60.

19. **spectaculis nugacitatis:** = *spectaculis nugatoriis.* The use of the genitive of an abstract noun instead of the corresponding adjective agreeing with the substantive it modifies, is a Hebraism frequently imitated by ecclesiastical writers. Cf. Luc. 18, 6, *iudex iniquitatis* = *iudex iniquus.* Cf. Kaulen, 36, S. S. 362, 69, Anmerk. 2. **nugacitatis:** p. c. Cf. Sap. 4, 12, *fascinatio nugacitatis obscurat bona;* Aug. *Ep.* 67; id. *De Musica* 6, and elsewhere.

20. **civitatibus:** = *urbibus:* through an abuse already common in Quintilian and Suetonius, *civitas* was frequently used indiscriminately with *urbs* and *oppidum.* It already had this meaning in early classical and colloquial Latin (cf. Ennius, *Fab.* 84, *civitatem video Argivom incendier*). *Civitas* is the form that prevailed in the Romance Languages. Cf. Italian *civita* and *città,* and French *cité.*

21. **gratis:** at Carthage, as at Rome, 'bread and the circus' were free. Cf. Friedländer, 1, 130.

22. **aut:** from the construction, we should expect '*et.*' This may be due to careless dictation or lack of revision on Augustine's part.

23. **effracturas . . . multis et magnis timoribus:** *effracturae* is a juridical term. Cf. *Libr. Pandect.* 1, 15, 3, *effracturae fiunt plerumque in insulis horreisque.* For the expression *multis et mag-*

nis, cf. Cic. *De Am.* 9, 30, *sed quamquam utilitates multae et magnae consecutae sunt.*

24. **daemonibus:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'evil spirits.' Cf. Iac. 2, 19, *et daemones credunt.*

24ª. **se invicem:** = *inter se.* Cf. Ch. 12, N. 2.

25. **se:** = *inter se.* In p. c. Latin the simple reflexive is sometimes used as a reciprocal pronoun.

26. **collusores:** another juridical term that is p. c. Cf. *Cod. Theod.* 7, 20, 2, *contra collusorem poena statuta . . . declaratur.*

27. **adversus invicem:** for the construction, cf. Ch. 12, N. 2.

28. **sintae:** the meaning of this word is unknown. Fausset (p. 105) would derive it from σίντης (= 'tearing,' 'ravenous,' 'devouring'), in Homer an epithet of lions. From the context it must refer to such as maul and maim each other, that is, to gladiators. The phrase *qui appellantur* shows that it was a colloquialism. Audollent, 687, n. 3, observes: "*le mot sintae qu'il* (*Augustin*) *emploie . . . pour signifier des personnes qui se produisent en public est peut-être d'origine punique.*"

29. **thymelici:** from θυμέλη, the altar in the centre of the orchestra. As the players both in Rome and Carthage were for the most part Greeks, the Latin stage vocabulary was filled with Greek words having Latin endings. Apuleius in *De Magia* 13, 416, speaks of the *choragium, thymelicum,* and *syrma.*

30. **aurigae:** the Carthaginians were passionately fond of chariot races. 'Factions' with party colors encouraged their favorite charioteers. On the frenzy and passion of these 'factions,' cf. Mayor's *Juvenal,* 2, 218; also Friedländer, 2, 19; Tert. *De Spect.* 23, *an deo placebit auriga ille tot animarum inquietator, tot furiarum minister?*

31. **venatores:** men who were well trained and equipped to fight beasts in the arena, in other words, professionals, were called *venatores.* Criminals who were made to fight beasts were called *bestiarii.* Cf. Friedländer, App. 2, 180.

32. **incitatis favent et faventes incitant:** note figures of chiasmus and translation. For a graphic description of the frenzy

of the populace at gladiatorial combats, cf. Aug. *Conf.* 6, 8, 13, *ut enim vidit illum sanguinem, immanitatem simul ebibit et non se avertit, sed fixit aspectum et hauriebat furias et nesciebat et delectabatur scelere certaminis et cruenta voluptate inebriabatur . . . spectavit, clamavit, exarsit, abstulit inde secum insaniam.* Cf. Mayor's notes on Tert. *Apol.* 38, *nihil est nobis dictu, visu, auditu cum insania circi, cum impudicitia theatri, cum atrocitate arenae;* Min. Fel. *Oct.* 37, *nam in ludis currulibus quis non horreat populi in se rixantis insaniam?*

32ª. **alter pro altero:** literally "one (of two factions) for one of a pair (of gladiators)."

33. **sanitatem pacis . . . valetudo:** Augustine in the *Confessions,* 3, 2, discussing why it is that people at stage plays take delight in scenes representing sorrow and misfortune which they themselves would not like to experience, writes: *quid est, quod ibi homo vult dolere luctuosa et tragica, quae tamen pati ipse nollet? Et tamen pati vult ex eis dolorem spectator et dolor ipse est voluptas eius. Quid est nisi miserabilis insania?* On the morally weakening effect of the indulgence of such emotions, Gibb and Montgomery, in their note on this passage, quote Plato, *Rep.* 10, 606-7. **valetudo:** note that this word like *meritum* is a *vox media,* a neutral term, and means properly a state of health, which may be either good or bad.

34. **qualiacumque sint et quantumlibet delectet:** for the construction, cf. Ch. 10, N. 19.

35. **bella theatrorum:** 'the rivalries of the theatres,' i. e., of the theatre factions. For this meaning of *bellum,* cf. Aug. *De ver. Rel.* 54, 104, *qui certaminibus delectantur, alienabuntur a pace et summis difficultatibus implicabuntur; initium enim summae difficultatis est bellum atque contentio.* Favorite authors had their rival factions. The jealousies of these factions frequently ended in bloodshed. Cf. Friedländer, 2, 115. In this section, Augustine touches upon the great vices of the Africans: jealousy, hatred, sensuality, and avarice. The plural *bella* is poetical in classical Latin. On these spectacles, cf. A. Degert, *Quid ad Mores Ingeniaque Afrorum cognoscenda conferant Sancti Augustini Sermones.* Paris, 1894.

36. **immunditia fornicationum:** = *immundae fornicationes.* This construction, found also in Hebrew, in which the substantive accompanying the genitive is equivalent to an adjective, is p. c. Cf. Kaulen, 137; S. S. 362, 69, Anmerk. 2. The phrase is from Apoc. 17, 4, *plenum abominatione, et immunditia fornicationum.* Carthage was, perhaps, the most dissolute city in the Roman Empire. Cf. Salvianus, *De Gub. Dei,* 7, 17, 24, *Unam enim putes fuisse illic libidinum fornicationumque sentinam, caenum quasi ex omni platearum et cloacarum labe collectam: Carthaginem dico. . . . ;* id. 16, 66, *quis non omnes omnino Afros generaliter impudicos sciat nisi ad Deum forte conversos . . . ita enim generale in eis malum impuritatis est, ut quicumque ex eis impudicus esse desierit, Afer non esse videatur.* Cf. Aug. *Conf.* 3, 1, *veni Carthaginem et circumstrepebat me undique sartago flagitiosorum amorum.* According to Sallust, *Hist.* 1, 12, greed and luxury increased in Rome after the taking of Carthage.

37. **prurigo thermarum:** the immorality of the public baths throughout the Roman Empire was notorious. This was particularly the case in Carthage. An old inscription found in Numidia (*C. I. L.* VIII, 17938) reads: *venari, lavari, ludere, occ est vivere.* Cf. also *C. I. L.* VI, 15258 (Rome): *balnea, vina, Venus corrumpunt corpora nostra, set vitam faciunt balnea, vina, Venus;* ibid. XIV, 914 (Ostia): *vixi Lucrinis, potabi saepe Falernum | balnia, vina, Venus mecum senuere per annos.*

38. **febricula . . . beatitudinem subtrahit:** *febricula* is here a contemptuous diminutive. The allusion to fever would be very natural as it was quite prevalent in Roman Africa. It was of fever that Augustine himself died (cf. Possidius, *Vita S. Aug.* 29, *decubuit febribus fatigatus*). **beatitudinem:** coined by Cicero to translate the Greek εὐδαιμονία. Cf. *De Nat. Deor.* 1, 95, *sive beatitas sive beatitudo dicenda est.* Of the two forms, *beatitudo* and *beatitas,* the former is more frequently found both in classical and p. c. Latin. On the vanity of the world and the precariousness of life, cf. a similar passage in Ambrose, *Hex.* 3, 7, *quantos pridie caterva plaudentium et invidiosa frequentis populi domum pompa deduxit et nox una gloriosae illum splendorem deductionis abolevit, ac repentinus lateris dolor, effusis gaudiis, luctuosam gravis successionem maeroris admiscuit;* Lucr. *De Rer. Nat.* 3, 899, *' misero*

misere' aiunt 'omnia ademit | una dies infesta tibi tot praemia vitae.'

39. **dulciores esse iustitiae fructus quam iniquitatis:** for the phrase, *iustitiae fructus,* cf. Amos 6, 13, *convertisti . . . fructum iustitiae in absynthium;* Iac. 3, 18, *fructus autem iustitiae in pace seminatur.* For the thought, cf. Prov. 16, 8, *melius est parum cum iustitia, quam multi fructus cum iniquitate.*

40. **verius . . . gaudere hominem de bona conscientia,** etc.: cf. 2 Cor. 1, 12, *nam gloria nostra haec est, testimonium conscientiae nostrae;* Hebr. 13, 18, *confidimus enim quia bonam conscientiam habemus;* Cic. *Ep.* 6, 4, *conscientia rectae voluntatis maxima consolatio est rerum incommodarum; Henry VIII,* Act 3, Sc. 2, "I feel within me | a peace above all earthly dignities, | A still and quiet conscience."

41. **venisti coniungi:** for the construction, cf. Ch. 12, N. 12.

42. **ecclesiae dei:** for the phrase, cf. 1 Tim. 3, 15, *ecclesia dei vivi.*

CHAPTER 17.

(26) *It may so happen that some desire to become Christians for the sake of worldly gain.*

(27) *The true Christian seeks perpetual rest in God.*

(28) *As God rested upon the seventh day, so shall His saints rest in Him in the seventh age of the world.*

1. **reprobi:** p. c. Cf. 1 Cor. 9, 27, *ne forte . . . ipse reprobus efficiar.*

2. **sicut area,** etc.: cf. Matth. 3, 12, *cuius ventilabrum in manu sua; et permundabit aream suam; et congregabit triticum in horreum, paleas autem comburet igni inexstinguibili.* Like the Vulgate, the Old Latin version of *Matth.* 3, 12, reads *triticum.* In the very next sentence, however, Augustine writes, *cum frumento dei.* This *frumentum* would seem to be reminiscent of some early African version. In *Ad Donat. post Collat.* 14, Augustine writes: *veniet ferens ventilabrum in manu sua; et mundabit aream suam; frumenta recondet in horreo, etc.* For a full discussion of the use of *frumentum* and *triticum* as equivalents of σῖτος, cf. F. C. Burkitt, *Notes and Studies,* in *J. Th. S.* 25 (1923), 59.

3. **nec sibi blandiantur,** etc. This is aimed at the Donatists whose contentions were based mainly on the essential purity of the Church, and as a consequence, on the rigid exclusion of all unworthy members. Augustine, in his writings, emphasizes the fact that the good and the wicked are always to be found together in the Church, but that they are to be separated on the last day. Cf. Matth. 13, 30, *sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem, et in tempore messis dicam messoribus: Colligite primum zizania, et alligate ea in fasciculos ad comburendum, triticum autem congregate in horreum meum;* Aug. *Serm.* 73, 1, *quid festinatis, inquit, servi zelo pleni? Videtis zizania inter frumentum, videtis malos Christianos inter bonos; eradicare vultis malos: quiescite, non est tempus messis. Veniat, et frumentum vos inveniet. Quid stomachamini, quid aegre toleratis malos permixtos bonis? In agro nobiscum esse possunt, in horreo non erunt.*

3ª. **meliore quidem spe:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *Pro Sest.* 67, *fieri quaedam ad meliorem spem inclinatio visa est;* Hebr. 7, 19, *introductio vero melioris spei.*

3ᵇ. **deum timent:** for the expression, cf. 1 Petr. 2, 17, *Deum timete.*

4. **ista:** = *hac.* Cf. Ch. 4, N. 17.

4ª. **colunt deum:** for the expression, cf. Dan. 3, 17, *ecce enim Deus noster, quem colimus.*

5. **sine causa:** = *frustra.* For this meaning, cf. *Ps.* 72, 13, *ergo sine causa iustificavi cor meum.* Cf. Kaulen, 14. One of the stock arguments against Christianity was that the God of the Christians did so very little to improve their condition in this world. Cf. Min. Fel. *Oct.* 12, *Ecce pars vestrum, et maior, melior, ut dicitis, egetis, algetis, opere fame laboratis, et deus patitur, dissimulat, non vult aut non potest opitulari suis: ita aut invalidus aut iniquus est;* Tert. *Apol.* 41; Lact. *Inst.* 5, 22, *Nam imprimis haec causa est cur existimetur religio Dei vim non habere, quod inducuntur homines specie terrenorum ac praesentium bonorum, quae ad curam mentis nullo modo pertinent; quibus quia carere iustos vident, et affluere iniustos, et Dei cultum inanem arbitrantur, in quo inesse illa non cernunt, et deorum ritus aestimant veros, quoniam cultores eorum et divitiis et honoribus et regnis fruantur;* Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* 9, 7-8.

6. **post hanc vitam:** brachylogical for *post hanc vitam actam.* Post-classical writers are fond of using the prepositions *ante* and *post* with substantives which have no reference to time, instead of using a participle or a subordinate clause introduced by *antequam* or *postquam.* Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 2, 17, *post tribunal;* id. 3, 3, *ante hoc nomen.* See Mayor's note on Tertullian, *Apol.* 12, *ante plumbum* (p. 225, 17); id. 10 *post multas expeditiones* (p. 215, 27); id. 25 *post imperium* (p. 334, 33); id. 39 *post aquam* (p. 398, 19); Dr. Souter adds a reference to *Archiv* 11 (1898), 246.

7. **ut non eat in ignem aeternum:** cf. Matth. 25, 41, *discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum.*

8. **ne prosperis rebus corrumpatur,** etc.: the thought is both Christian and Stoic. Cf. Rom. 12, 13, *spe gaudentes, in tribulatione patientes;* Hor. *Od.* 2, 3, *aequam memento rebus in arduis | servare mentem, non secus in bonis | ab insolenti temperatam | laetitia.* This thought is a commonplace in Augustine. Professor J. H. Baxter supplies me with the following examples: *In Ioan. Ev.* 12, 14, *in rebus prosperis ne extollat, in rebus adversis ne frangat; In Ps.* 83, 5, *nulla infelicitas frangit quem felicitas nulla corrumpit; In Ps.* 93, 24, *non te corrumpat felicitas, et non frangat adversitas.*

9. **qui . . . pervenit ad talem animum:** this sketch of Christian character is frequently quoted. Cf. Montgomery, 214.

10. **ut plus amet deum quam timeat gehennam:** for the thought, cf. *Hymn of St. Francis Xavier: O Deus, ego amo te | nec amo te, ut salves me | aut quia non amantes te | aeterno punis igne.*

11. **eum:** = *se.* In classical Latin the reflexive refers to the the subject of the main sentence, though even in classical Latin the pronoun *is* is sometimes loosely used for the reflexive. Cf. Lane, 2370. In using *eum* for *se* Augustine was following the Scriptural text: 1 Cor. 2, 9, *quae praeparavit deus iis, qui diligunt illum.* For the thought, cf. *Const. Apost.* VII, 32, 2. Augustine uses this quotation from Romans very effectively in the fine passage in *Conf.* 9, 10, 23, in which he describes his last conversation with Monica at Ostia: *conloquebamur ergo soli . . . et . . . quaerebamus inter nos . . . qualis futura esset vita aeterna sanctorum, quam nec oculos vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit.*

12. **requie:** the eds. Amer. and Eras. read *re.*

13. **significat scriptura, et non tacet:** a form of pleonasm frequently occurring in the Scriptures. Cf. Ioan. 1, 20, *et confessus est, et non negavit.*

14. **quod . . . operatus est . . . requievit:** for the construction, cf. Ch. 1, N. 7. For the Scriptural allusion, cf. Gen. 1, 2.

15. **sex diebus:** = *sex dies.* The use of the ablative to express extension of time occurs in classical Latin. Cf. Cic. *De Off.* 3, 2, 8, *triginta annis vixisse Panaetium.* It occurs oftener from the time of Seneca on (cf. Sen. *Ad Polyb.* 12, 4, *diebus ac noctibus*), and is found very frequently in p. c. Latin. Salonius, 99, seems to follow Delbrück and Brugmann in the view that the ablative of duration of time is an inherited usage of the instrumental and not a p. c. development. Cf. also Mayor's note on Plin. 3, 14, 4, *paucis diebus.*

15ª. **poterat:** note that in classical Latin the indicative is used where we might have expected the subjunctive with certain verbs and verbal expressions denoting ability, duty, propriety, necessity, and the like. The subjunctive is only used when an expression of this kind depends upon a mental conception, e. g. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 2, 5, 14, *magis esset pudendum si in sententia permaneres.* Compare the Greek use of the past tense of such words as ἔδει, ἐχρῆν, δίκαιον ἦν.

16. **dixit, et facta sunt,** etc.: cf. *Ps.* 148, 5, *quia ipse dixit, et facta sunt; ipse mandavit, et creata sunt.*

17. **post sex aetates . . . septima aetate tamquam septimo die requieturus est in sanctis suis:** according to the Millenarian doctrine, as set forth in the Epistle of St. Barnabas, of which Augustine was a champion at the time when he wrote this treatise, there are seven *millennia* or epochs of world-history, each lasting a thousand years, corresponding to the seven days of Creation. In the seventh epoch (*septima aetate*) after the destruction of the wicked, Christ with the just shall reign on earth. This doctrine was based on the Apocalypse 14, 8. Later on Augustine abandoned this realistic eschatology, and in *De Civ. Dei* 20, 5, interpreted it allegorically. Cf. Robertson, 126, 170; L. Gry, 86; A. Chiappelli, 60; Quintus Iulius Hilarion, *Chronologia sive de Mundi Duratione Libellus.* The division of the history of the world into six epochs

corresponding to the six days of creation is much older than Augustine. It was known to the authors of the Septuagint and was so firmly rooted in Jewish traditions that it found its way into the Talmud. Among Greek Christian writers Barnabas is the first to mention this chronological system (cf. *Ep.* 15, 4); cf. also Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* 5, 28, 3, ὅσαις ἡμέραις ἐγένετο ὁ κόσμος, τοσαύταις χιλιοντάσι συντελεῖται; Hippolytus, *Com. in Dan.* 4, 23, 6, ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα, δεῖ τὰ ἑξακισχίλια ἔτη πληρωθῆναι; Cyprian is the first among Latin Christian writers who speaks of the six ages. Cf. *Ad Fortunatum,* praef. 2, *sex millia annorum iam paene complentur, ex quo hominem diabolus impugnat;* cf. also *Lactant. Inst. Div.* 7, 14; Ambr. *Expos. Ev. sec. Luc.* 7, 7; Hier. *Ep.* 140, 8, *quia mundus in sex diebus fabricatus est, sex millibus annorum tantum creditur subsistere.* Augustine does not insist upon this division, but simply mentions it as a fact known to all who have attended catechetical lectures. According to Hipler (*Die christliche Geschichtsauffassung,* Köln, 1884, p. 26) it was most probably at catechetical instructions that Augustine himself first learned of this chronological division of history. However, though this system is not original with Augustine, it was his influence that made it popular, so that in the Middle Ages the division of world-history into six epochs became classical. Cf. Isidor. Hisp. *Liber Etym.* 1, 5, 38; Beda Ven. *De Temporibus,* 16-22. Bonaventura (*Illuminat. Eccl. in Hexaemeron,* 15) writes, *Notandum est, quod sicut Deus sex diebus mundum fecit . . . ita corpus Christi mysticum sex habet aetates.* It may be noted here that the Roman historians were accustomed to divide history into epochs. Lactantius (*Inst. Div.* 7, 15) writes, *non inscite Seneca Romanae urbis tempora distribuit in aetates;* cf. also Iulius Florus *Epit. de Tit. Liv.* 1, 1; Ammianus Marcellinus 14, 6, 4; Scholz, pp. 154-165.

18. **post omnia bona opera:** pregnant for *post omnia bona opera facta.* Cf. Ch. 17, N. 6. For the Scripture reference, cf. Hebr. 4, 10, *qui enim ingressus est in requiem eius: etiam ipse requievit ab operibus suis, sicut a suis deus;* Apoc. 14, 13, *amodo iam dicit spiritus ut requiescant a laboribus suis: opera enim illorum sequuntur illos.*

19. **in quibus:** the instrumental and modal use of the prepo-

sition *in* with the ablative is a Hebraism and occurs rather frequently in p. c. Latin. Cf. Luc. 1, 78, *per viscera misericordiae dei nostri, in quibus visitavit nos.* Cf. Kaulen, 239; S. S. 412, 147; Salonius, 98.

20. **in illis operatur:** for the phrase, cf. *Ps.* 67, 29, *confirma hoc deus, quod operatus est in nobis.*

21. **qui vocat . . . et delicta praeterita dimittit et iustificat:** Augustine here weaves together two different Scripture texts. Cf. Rom. 8, 30, *quos autem praedestinavit, hos et vocavit; et quos vocavit, hos et iustificavit;* Ps. 24, 18, *vide humilitatem meam, et laborem meum, et dimitte universa delicta mea.* Cf. Ch. 4, N. 3.

22. **sicut autem cum illi . . . bene operantur, recte dicitur ipse operari:** for the thought, cf. Aug. *De Gen. ad Lit.* 4, 15, *sicut recte dicitur deus facere quidquid ipso in nobis operante fecerimus, ita recte dicitur deus requiescere, cum eius munere requiescimus.*

23. **pausationem:** = *cessationem.* In this meaning it is p. c., occurring in Jerome and Augustine. Cf. Hier. *Ep.* 28. For the thought, cf. Aug. *Conf.* 13, 37, 52, *tu autem, Domine, semper operaris et semper requiescis.*

24. **fecit autem omnia per verbum suum . . . in sancto silentio:** for the Scriptural reference, cf. Ioan. 1, 1, *in principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud deum, et deus erat verbum . . . omnia per ipsum facta sunt.* **in sancto silentio:** this expression is reminiscent of Platonism and particularly of Neo-Platonism as represented by Plotinus. With the phrase *sancto silentio* cf. Wordsworth's *Prelude,* Book 2, " Oft in these moments such a *holy calm* | Would overspread my soul," etc. Cf. Ch. 27, Note 27; also O. Casel, *De Philosophorum Graecorum Silentio mystico* (Giessen, 1919).

25. **opportuno tempore . . . oportere:** according to Keller, 137, the double *p* in *opportunus,* which is the ancient spelling, is based on a false etymology. Carl Weyman cites this passage from *De cat. Rud.* in his article *Lat. Oportunus* in *I. F. Z. A.* 5 (1896), 194, to confirm Keller's etymology. According to Weyman, the fact that Augustine used *opportuno* and *oportere* so close together is proof that he derived them from the same root and was using the *figura etymologica.* It is true, of course, that most p. c. writers

write *oportunus,* following a popular etymology which derived it from *oportere.* Cf. for example, Macrobius, *Commentarium in Somnium Scipionis,* 2, 5, 15, *aequinoctialem* (*circum*) *hoc loco quo de terra loquimur non oportet adscribi, qui oportuniore loco rursus addetur.* Walde, 543, however, rejects Keller's etymology and follows Vaniček, who derives *opportunus* from *ob* and *portus;* hence the double *p.* According to this more probable etymology *opportunus* would mean literally 'that which helps one to reach port.' For the Scriptural reference, cf. Galat. 4, 4, *at ubi venit plenitudo temporis, misit deus filium suum.* Cf. also Aug. *Serm. ad Cat.* 8, *opportunitate temporis, quando voluit, quando sciebat, tunc natus est; non enim nolens natus est.* **opportuno tempore:** for the phrase, cf. Ps. 31, 6, *pro hac orabit ad te omnis sanctus in tempore opportuno;* Ps. 144, 15; Act. 24, 25, *tempore autem opportuno accersam te.*

26. **de femina:** = *femina.* P. c. writers are fond of adding the preposition *de* or *ex* to reinforce the ablative of origin. Cf. Lane, 1312; S. S. 386, 104, Anmerk. 1.

27. **a carne . . . contaminari non poterat, ipse carnem . . . mundaturus:** for the thought, cf. Ambr. *in Luc.* 2, 83, *baptizatus ergo est dominus non mundari volens, sed mundare aquas.* The Fathers are fond of using *mundare* in its metaphorical meaning of 'cleansing from sin.' Cf. Ambr. *De Iacob.* 1, 5, 17, *ut totus mundus eius mundaretur sanguine;* id. *De Bened. Patr.* 4, 24 (*Christus*) *nostra, quae fecimus, peccata mundavit;* id. *De Off.* 3, 18, 103, *mundat peccata nostra.* For the thought, cf. Robert Herrick: "Christ took our nature on him, not that he | 'Bove all things loved it, for the purity: | No, but he dressed him with our human trim, | Because our flesh stood most in need of him." **carnem:** Augustine, in imitation of St. Paul, frequently personifies 'the flesh.' Cf. Rom. 3, 20, *quia ex operibus legis non iustificabitur omnis caro coram illo.*

27ª. **antiqui sancti . . . prophetaverunt:** cf. 1 Pet. 1, 10, *de qua salute exquisierunt, atque scrutati sunt prophetae, qui de futura in vobis gratia prophetaverunt.*

28. **salvi:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'saved from sin.' Cf. 1 Cor. 7, 16, *si mulierem salvam facies.* Some

writers on the Athanasian Creed would see a difference in meaning between *salvari* which, according to them, is the stronger expression, and *salvus esse.* According to Augustine the two expressions are synonymous. Cf. *Tract. in Ev. Ioan.* 41, 1, *hoc verbum Dominus a libertate posuit 'Liberabit vos.' Nihil est enim aliud proprie liberat, nisi liberum facit: quomodo salvat nihil est aliud quam sanum facit.* Cf. R. H. Malden, *Quicumque vult salvus esse,* in *J. Th. S.* 8 (1906), 301.

29. **credendo quia veniet, sicut nos salvi efficimur credendo quia venit: credendo quia veniet:** this, as it stands, is a difficult construction; we should have expected *credendo quia venturus esset* or *veniret* in accordance with Augustine's usual practice of employing the subjunctive after verbs of speaking and thinking in past tenses (cf. *De cat. Rud.* 27, 53, *praedictum est Abrahae . . . quod de illo esset populus nasciturus . . . praedictum est per prophetas quod in cruce pasurus esset . . . praedictum est quod resurrecturus esset,* etc.). The form *veniet* here may represent the carelessness of conversational style, just as in English one might say in conversation: "and thus they *were* saved by believing that He *will* come" (for, "*would* come"!). Or, if this be the correct reading, it may, perhaps, be explained as an imitation of the Greek idiom of retaining the original tense in indirect discourse to bring out better the contrast between *veniet* and *venit.* Augustine is fond of securing antithesis by playing on words (*veniet . . . venit*). It is just possible, however, that the letter *r* has fallen out and that the real reading should be *veniret. Veniret* even alongside of *venit* in the next clause would offer no difficulty, for the change in mood might well be explained as due to the difference in certainty of belief between that which related to an expected future hope (*veniret*) and an historic past event (*venit*). **efficimur:** the present forms, first and second person plural, indicative and subjunctive: *fimus, fitis, fiamus, fiatis,* of the verb *fieri* are seldom if ever used, their place being taken by the corresponding forms of the passive *effici: efficimur, efficimini, efficiamur, efficiamini.* Hence here we read *sic salvi facti sunt . . . sicut nos salvi efficimur.*

30. **qui sic nos dilexit,** etc.: cf. Ioan. 3, 16, *sic enim deus dilexit mundum, ut filium suum unigenitum daret.*

31. **qui humilitate nostrae mortalitatis indutus:** Augustine is

fond of comparing the act of Christ in becoming man to the putting on of a garment. Cf. *De Civ. Dei* 16, 29, *indumentum carnis;* id. 9, 21, *infirmitate carnis indutus;* id. 9, 17, *homine quo indutus est; De cat. Rud.* 21, 37, *pro capite hominis quo erat indutus.* For the same metaphor, cf. Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* 23, *καὶ πάντοτε ἄνθρωπον ὁ φιλάνθρωπος ἐνδύεται θεὸς εἰς τὴν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν*; Athanas. *De Inc.* 44, 6, *διὰ τοῦτο ἐνεδύσατο σῶμα, ἵνα τὸν θάνατον ἐν τῷ σώματι εὑρὼν ἀπαλείψῃ.*

32. **a peccatoribus et pro peccatoribus moreretur:** figure of polyptoton. In p. c. Latin the deponent verbs *mori* and *pati* sometimes take the ablative with a preposition by analogy with the Greek construction *πάσχειν ὑπό τινος.* Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 12, *nihil ab ullo patitur;* id. 21, *a Iudaeis insequentibus multa perpessi.* It is just possible, too, that this use of the ablative with *pati* may be an extension of the use of the ablative after certain intransitive verbs. Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2, 55, 138, *ea* (*anima*) *calescit primum ipso ab spiritu.* See Mayor's note on this passage; also Reid's note on *Acad.* 2, 105, *qua a sole collucet.*

33. **olim ab ineuntibus saeculis,** etc.: *olim* is thus frequently used of a remote past as compared with a subsequent event. Cf. Dirksen, s. v. This phrase seems to be reminiscent of Vergil's famous *Fourth Eclogue,* 5, *magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo.* Cf. Aug. *In Ep. ad Rom. Expos.* 3, *fuerunt enim et prophetae non ipsius, in quibus etiam aliqua inveniuntur quae de Christo audita cecinerunt, sicut etiam de Sibylla dicitur: quod non facile crederem, nisi quod poetarum quidam in Romana lingua nobilissimus, antequam diceret ea de innovatione saeculi, quae in domini nostri Iesu Christi regnum satis concinere et convenire videantur, praeposuit verum dicens: ultima Cumaei iam venit carminis aetas.* Cf. J. B. Mayor, *Vergil's Messianic Eclogue* (1907); M. J. Lagrange, *Le prétendu messianisme de Virgile,* in *Revue biblique* 31 (1922), 552; E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (1924), 20.

34. **mysterii huius:** that is, of the Incarnation. Dr. J. A. Robinson in his classic excursus on the meaning of the word *μυστήριον* in the New Testament (*St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians,* London, 1914, pp. 234, 40) concludes: "We have found, then, no

connexion between the New Testament use of the word 'mystery' and its popular religious signification as a sacred rite, which the initiated are pledged to preserve inviolably secret. Not until the word has passed into common parlance as 'a secret' of any kind does it find a place in biblical phraseology. The New Testament writers find the word in ordinary use in this colourless sense, and they start it upon a new career by appropriating it to the great truths of the Christian religion, which could not have become known to men except by Divine disclosure or revelation. A mystery in this sense is not a thing which *must* be kept secret. On the contrary, it is a secret which God wills to make known and has charged His Apostles to declare to those who have ears to hear it."

35. **praefigurari:** p. c. Cf. Cypr. *Ep.* 2, 3.

CHAPTER 18.

(29) *The creation of all things by God. Why He created man and woman.*

(30) *Man in the garden of Paradise. Although God knew that man would sin, yet He created him. He gave free will to the angels and to man that they might serve Him of their own free will; but whether they obey or disobey Him, they cannot affect His glory.*

1. **deus omnipotens, et bonus et iustus et misericors:** figure of polysyndeton. For these epithets of the deity, cf. Gen. 17, 1, *ego deus omnipotens;* Ps. 72, 1, *quam bonus Israel deus;* Ps. 114, 5, *misericors dominus, et iustus, et deus.*

2. **qui fecit omnia bona:** cf. Gen. 1, 31, *viditque deus cuncta quae fecerat; et erant valde bona.*

3. **cetera:** = *reliqua.* In classical Latin *ceteri* = the rest in a general sense, especially as contrasted with those named; while *reliqui* = the rest in an arithmetical sense: the remainder. Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 1, 11, 28, *qui soli et lunae reliquisque sideribus . . . divinitatem dedit.* This distinction is not always observed in p. c. Latin.

4. **arbores et frutices:** note that Latin has no single word corresponding to the Greek φυτά or our English 'plants.' Cf.

Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 2, 30 [398] 2, *earum rerum quas terra procreet vel ubertatem vel tenuitatem.*

5. **spiritus quibus corpora vegetantur et vivificantur:** *spiritus* = the life principle of animals and plants (*φύσις*) as distinguished from the soul of man (*ψυχή*). Cf. Apul. *De Mundo,* 36, *spiritus qui animalia omnia vitali et fecunda ope vegetat.* **vegetantur:** p. c. Cf. K. S. 2, 715. **vivificantur:** p. c. It is first cited from the Old Latin version of Ioan. 5, 21, *sicut enim pater suscitat mortuos, et vivificat.* Compounds in *-ficare* or *-facere* become increasingly common in p. c. Latin. They suppose an adjective (e. g. *vivificus*) from which the verb is formed. Cf. Goelzer, 190. Note how Augustine begins with the lowest order of creation and then ascends, ending with man. For the same order, cf. Aug. *De Trin.* 3, 3.

6. **fecit et hominem ad imaginem suam:** cf. Gen. 1, 26, *et creavit deus hominem ad imaginem suam.*

7. **ipse per omnipotentiam praeest universae creaturae:** *per omnipotentiam* = *omnipotentiâ.* Cf. Ch. 1, N. 25. **omnipotentiam:** p. c. Cf. Goelzer, 134. **creaturae:** p. c. It may mean, as here, 'creation' (cf. Iudith. 9, 17, *dominus totius creaturae*) or 'creature' (cf. Tob. 8, 7, *omnes creaturae tuae*).

8. **sic homo per intelligentiam suam, qua etiam creatorem suum cognoscit et colit, praeesset omnibus terrenis animalibus:** through reason man can come to a knowledge of God; its possession makes him superior to the brute creation. Cf. Ch. 12, N. 7. Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2, 55, *earum autem perennes cursus atque perpetui . . . declarant in his vim et mentem esse divinam, ut haec ipsa qui non sentiat deorum vim habere, is nihil omnino sensurus esse videtur;* cf. Min. Fel. *Oct.* 17, *qui hunc mundi totius ornatum non divina ratione perfectum volunt . . . mentem, sensum, oculos denique ipsos non habere.* **creatorem:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of the creator of the world. Cf. Rom. 1, 25, *et servierunt creaturae potius quam creatori.* **cognoscit et colit:** for the phrase, cf. Tert. *Apol.* 21, *per eum et in eo se cognosci et coli vult;* cf. Min. Fel. *Oct.* 22, 6, *non cogitat prius se debere deum nosse quam colere.* **praeesset omnibus terrenis animalibus:** cf. Gen. 1, 26, *faciamus hominem . . . et praesit piscibus*

maris, et volatilibus caeli, et bestiis, universaeque terrae, omnique reptili quod movetur in terra. For the thought that it is reason that makes man superior to the beast, cf. Cic. *De Leg.* 10, 30, *ratio qua una praestamus beluis; De Nat. Deor.* 2, 53, 133, *quorum igitur causa quis dixerit effectum esse mundum? Eorum scilicet animantium, quae ratione utuntur. Hi sunt dii et homines, quibus profecto nihil est melius; ratio est enim, quae praestet omnibus;* Arist. *Polit.* 1a, 15; Min. Fel. *Oct.* 17, *praecipue cum a feris beluis hoc differamus, quod illa prona in terramque vergentia nihil nata sint prospicere nisi pabulum, nos . . . quibus . . . sermo et ratio per quae deum agnoscimus, sentimus, imitamur.* This is a favorite thought of Augustine's and occurs repeatedly in his sermons.

9. **fecit illi etiam adiutorium feminam:** cf. Gen. 2, 18, *dixit quoque Dominus Deus: non est bonum esse hominem solum: Faciamus ei adiutorium simile sibi.* **adiutorium:** in p. c. Latin it has almost replaced the classical *auxilium.* Souter, in *A Study of Ambrosiaster,* 141, note, observes that *adiutorium* "occurs hundreds, perhaps thousands, of times in Augustine." H. F. Stewart, in a memoir of the great British lexicographer, John E. B. Mayor, (*Twelve Cambridge Sermons by John E. B. Mayor,* Cambridge, 1911), p. xxvii writes: "But Mayor, though he held his hand this time, never forgave what he termed the πάντολμος ἀμαθία of Freund and 'his tail,' 'who introduced into lexicography the system of bluff, and sprinkles his *rare, only here,* broadcast out of a pepper box.' His pet instance was *adiutorium,* 'declared by Freund and Co. to be rare. It occurs in many silver age writers, 39 times in the Vulgate, very often in Ambrose, Augustine, Cassian and the medical writers, Theodorus Priscianus and Caelius Aurelianus.'"

10. **non ad carnalem concupiscentiam, quando quidem nec corruptibilia corpora tunc habebant, antequam eos mortalitas invaderet poena peccati:** *concupiscentia* is p. c. Cf. Tert. *De Resurr. Car.* 45. In *De Genesi contra Manichaeos,* written in 388-391, Augustine held that, before the fall, the union of Adam and Eve in matrimony was purely spiritual. Cf. *De Gen. contra Man.* 1, 30, *rectissime quaeritur quemadmodum accipienda sit coniunctio masculi et feminae ante peccatum . . . utrum carnaliter, an spiritualiter accipienda sit. Licet enim nobis eam etiam spiritualiter accipere, ut in carnalem fecunditatem post peccatum conversa esse*

credatur; cf. id. 2, 15, *et facta dicitur* (*femina*) *in adiutorium viri, ut copulatione spirituali spirituales fetus ederet.* He was still of this opinion when he wrote *De cat. Rud.* (405), though in *De Bono coniugali* (401) he had begun to waver. Cf. *De Bono coniugali* 2: *nec nunc opus est ut scrutemur, et in ea quaestione definitam sententiam proferamus, unde primorum hominum proles posset existere, quos benedixerat Deus, dicens, crescite et multiplicamini et implete terram, si non peccassent; cum mortis conditionem corpora eorum peccando meruerint, nec esse concubitus nisi mortalium corporum possit. . . .* He revised and definitely stated his opinion in *De Genesi ad Litteram* (A. D. 401-415), 9, 5, *si autem quaeritur, ad quam rem fieri oportuerit hoc adiutorium, nihil aliud probabiliter occurrit, quam propter filios procreandos, sicut adiutorium semini terra est, ut virgultum ex utroque nascatur;* cf. id. 9, 6; 9, 8; 9, 9; 9, 12; *Retract.* 1, 10, 2. For an exhaustive study of Augustine's doctrine on matrimony, cf. Mausbach 1, 319; Peters; Tixeront, 461; Hamma, *Die Lehre des hl. Augustinus über Konkupiscenz,* in *T. T. Q.* 16 (1873), 572. **corruptibilia:** p. c. Cf. Lact. *Inst. div.* 6, 25. **antequam eos mortalitas invaderet poena peccati:** cf. Rom. 6, 23, *stipendia enim peccati mors;* Rom. 5, 12, *propterea sicut per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intravit, et per peccatum, mors;* Gen. 2, 17, *in quocumque enim die comederis ex eo, morte morieris;* Milton, *Paradise Lost,* 1, 1, "Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit | Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste | Brought death into the world, and all our woe." |

11. **sed ut haberet et vir gloriam de femina, cum ei praeiret ad deum . . . sicut ipse esset gloria dei:** cf. 1 Cor. 11, 7, *vir quidem non debet velare caput suum; quoniam imago et gloria Dei est, mulier autem gloria viri est. Non enim vir ex muliere est, sed mulier ex viro. Etenim non est creatus vir propter mulierem, sed mulier propter virum.* **cum ei praeiret:** cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost,* 4, 440, "To whom thus Eve replied:—'O thou for whom | And from whom I was formed flesh of thy flesh, | And without whom am to no end my guide | And head' . . ."

12. **in sanctitate atque pietate:** here used in their Scriptural meaning of 'holiness and piety.' Cf. Luc. 1, 75, *in sanctitate et iustitia coram ipso;* cf. 2 Pet. 1, 6, *in pietate.* This expression

occurs in Cicero, but in a slightly altered meaning: cf. *De Off.* 2, 3, 11, *deos placatos pietas efficiet et sanctitas* ('religion and purity of character will render the gods propitious'); cf. also Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 1, 20, 56, *pie sancteque colere deos;* id. 1, 2, 3, *quorum si vera sententia est, quae potest esse pietas, quae sanctitas, quae religio?*

13. **in quodam loco perpetuae beatitudinis:** cf. Gen. 2, 15, *tulit ergo Dominus Deus hominem, et posuit eum in paradiso voluptatis.*

14. **transgrederentur . . . supplicia mortalitatis expenderent:** *transgredi* in its metaphorical meaning of moral transgression is p. c. Cf. Commod. *Inst.* 2, 17, 12, *leges transgredi.* (One may note the transition from the literal to the metaphorical meaning in Sallust, *Hist.* 2, 62, *communem habitum transgressus*). Cf. K. S. 2, 674; Goelzer, 236. **supplicia mortalitatis expenderent:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6, 740 *supplicia expendunt.*

15. **praesciebat:** here used in its Scriptural meaning of God's foreknowledge. Cf. Rom. 8, 29, *nam quod praescivit et praedestinavit.*

16. **conditor est et effector:** *conditor* is a favorite epithet of God in the Fathers. Cf. *Hymn of St. Ambrose: Aeterne rerum conditor;* Ambr. *De Helia* 9, 32, *ab ipso mundi conditore didicimus.* **effector:** used by Cicero to designate God. Cf. *Tim.* 5, *effector mundi molitorque deus.* Of course Augustine writes *conditor . . . effector* as a rhetorical expression for 'maker' or 'creator' without differentiating the one term from the other. For the use of such couplets, cf. Hebr. 11, 10, *cuius artifex et conditor deus* (*ὃς τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργὸς ὁ θεός*).

17. **melior est homo . . . etiam peccator quam bestia:** in all his controversies on free-will, grace, and the origin of evil, Augustine insists on the superiority of man, even though a sinner, over the beasts of the field; this superiority consists in the possession of reason. Cf. Aug. *De Gen. ad Lit.* 9, 14, *neque enim tantum depravati sunt homines, ut non etiam tales pecoribus et volatilibus antecellant;* cf. Luc. 12, 24, *quanto magis vos pluris estis illis.*

18. **ut essent inexcusabiles:** cf. Rom. 1, 19, *invisibilia enim ipsius . . . ita ut sint inexcusabiles.*

19. **laudabilem in suis factis:** cf. *Ps.* 144, 3, 14, *magnus dominus et laudabilis nimis, et sanctus in omnibus operibus eius.*

20. **si recte egerit, laudabilem invenit per iustitiam praemiorum; si peccaverit laudabilem invenit per iustitiam suppliciorum; si peccata confessus ad recte vivendum redierit, laudabilem invenit per misericordiam indulgentiarum:** note figure of anaphora. **peccata:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'sins.' Cf. Rom. 6, 23, *stipendia enim peccati mors. Confiteri* is here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of to 'confess sin.' Cf. Cypr. *Laps.* 29, *confiteantur singuli . . . delictum suum. Confiteri* and the substantive *confessio* are likewise used by ecclesiastical writers in the meaning of 'to confess,' that is, 'to acknowledge, God's glory.' Cf. Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* 144, 13, *confessio non peccatorum tantum dicitur sed et laudis.* Cf. Watson, 282, 290; H. Böhmer, *Die Lobpreisungen des Augustins,* in *Neu. kirch. Zeitschrift,* 26 (1915), 419-487; M. Wundt, *Augustins Konfessionen,* in *Zeitschrift f. d. neutest. Wiss.* 22 (1923), 3-4, p. 161. Augustine is here referring to the sacrament of penance without mentioning it directly. **indulgentiarum:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'forgiveness' in which meaning it had already been used by Tertullian and Cyprian (cf. Watson, 248). For the thought, cf. Aug. *Serm.* 214, 3, *sive homo iuste damnetur, sive misericordia liberetur, voluntas omnipotentis impletur.*

21. **quamvis enim peccaturum praenosceret:** Augustine here touches upon the momentous question of predestination upon which he was to write so much later on in the Pelagian controversy. Cf. Aug. *De Gen. ad Lit.* 11, 6, *cum etiam per iniustos iusti ac per impios pii proficiunt, frustra dicitur: Non crearet Deus, quos praesciebat malos futuros. Cur enim non crearet, quos praesciebat bonis profuturos, ut et utiles eorum bonis voluntatibus exercendis admonendisque nascantur et iuste pro sua mala voluntate puniantur.*

22. **cum et stantem coronaret, et cadentem ordinaret et surgentem adiuvaret:** note polysyndeton. The metaphor in *stantem coronaret* is taken from the arena; *stare* = 'to stand one's ground against the enemy.' Cf. 1 Cor. 10, 12, *itaque qui se existimat stare, videat ne cadat;* Ephes. 6, 11, *induite vos armaturam Dei, ut possitis stare adversus insidias diaboli;* 2 Tim. 2, 5, *non coronatur, nisi*

legitime certaverit. **cadentem ordinaret:** though God is not the author of sin, yet He can make the sinner conform to the divine order (*cadentem ordinat*) by the justice of His punishments. Cf. Aug. *Conf.* 1, 10, 6, *et tamen peccabam, domine deus meus, ordinator et creator rerum omnium naturalium, peccatorum autem tantum ordinator;* cf. *Gen. ad Litt.* 3, 24, 37, *Deus enim naturarum optimus conditor, peccantium vero iustissimus ordinator est;* id. *Enarr. in Ps.* 8, 15, *ipsa peccata sic ordinare ut quae fuerunt delectamenta hominis peccanti, sint instrumenta Domino punienti;* cf. *De cat. Rud.* in this section, below: *novit enim Deus ordinare deserentes se animas, et ex earum iusta miseria inferiores partes creaturae suae convenientissimis et congruentissimis legibus admirandae dispensationis ornare; De Mus.* 7, 11, *ita peccantem hominem ordinavit Deus turpem, non turpiter. Turpis enim factus est voluntate universum amittendo, et ordinatus in parte est, ut, qui legem agere noluit, a lege agatur. Quidquid autem legitime, utique iuste, et quidquid iuste, non utique turpiter agitur, quia etiam in malis operibus nostris Dei opera bona sunt; Adv. Faust. Manich.* 16, 21, *ad aliquem usum sanctorum ordinatur omnis caecitas impiorum a summo Deo, qui pro sui regiminis aequitate bene utitur etiam malis, ut, qui pro suo arbitrio iniuste vivunt, illius iudicio iuste disponantur.* It may be remarked that Dom Roger Hudleston, in his revision and emendation of Sir Tobie Matthews' translation of the *Confessions* of Saint Augustine, has missed the meaning of *ordinator* in *Conf.* 1, 10, by following some MSS. which have a *'non'* before *'ordinator.'* Gibb and Montgomery in their note on *Conf.* 1, 10, *peccatorum autem tantum ordinator* observe: "The *'non'* before *'ordinator'* of B^1 G M P Q^1 is a manifest interpolation, as it conflicts with A.'s explicit teaching elsewhere. . . . The MSS. B P Q form a closely related group distinguished by a number of common interpolations—Knöll (*ed. maior*), Praef. xv and xxxiii."

23. **ipse gloriosus:** for the expression, cf. Dan. 3, 56, *et laudabilis et gloriosus in saecula.*

24. **bonitate, iustitia, clementia:** figure of asyndeton. God manifests His goodness to the good, His justice to the wicked, and His mercy to the repentant.

25. **propagine mortalitatis eius:** = *ea propagine mortali.* **mor-**

talitatis: here a genitive of definition corresponding to an adjective. This use of the genitive is in imitation of the Construct state in Hebrew in which a noun is connected with another noun, where classical Latin would use an adjective. Cf. Luc. 18, 6, *iudex iniquitatis* (= *iudex iniquus*); Rom. 7, 24, *quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius* (= *de hoc corpore mortali*); cf. Kaulen, 254; S. S. 361, 69, Anmerk. 2. *Propago* is a favorite word of Augustine's when speaking of the sinful "stock" from which we are descended. Cf. *Tract. in Ioan. Ev.* 79, 2, *nec eius carnem de peccati propagine virgo pepererat.* H. F. Stewart (p. 134), in his note on this word, refers to Munro on Lucretius 3, 741.

26. **qui non sibi quaererent . . . beate vivere mererentur:** for the Scriptural reference, cf. Ioan. 7, 18, *qui a semetipso loquitur, gloriam propriam quaerit, qui autem quaerit gloriam eius qui misit eum, hic verax est.* For the expression *beate vivere,* applied here to eternal life, cf. Cic. *De Am.* 13, 45, *caput enim esse ad beate vivendum securitatem. Merere* and the deponent form *mereri* usually take *ut* with the subjunctive in classical Latin. In p. c. Latin they fequently take (as here) a complementary infinitive. Cf. Dräger, 2, 331; Goelzer, 367; Souter, *Ambrosiaster,* 118; id. *Pelagius,* 1, 105.

26ª. **gloriam darent:** for the phrase, cf. Ps. 113, 9, *non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.*

27. **dedit liberum arbitrium, ut non servili necessitate, sed ingenua voluntate deum colerent:** *liberum arbitrium* is a consecrated phrase among theologians to designate 'free-will.' For the expression, cf. Lact. *Inst. Div.* 2, 8, 4; Hier. *Adv. Pelag.* 3, 7. Augustine wrote two treatises on free-will: *De libero Arbitrio* (388 A. D.) and *De Gratia et libero Arbitrio* (426 A. D.). **ut non servili necessitate,** etc.: for the thought, cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost* 5, 529, "Our voluntary service he requires | Not our necessitated. Such with him | Finds no acceptance, nor can find; for how | Can hearts not free be tried whether they serve | Willing or no, who will but what they must | By destiny, and can no other choose?"

28. **nec angelus, qui cum spiritibus aliis satellitibus suis superbiendo deseruit oboedientiam dei et diabolus factus est, aliquid nocuit deo: nec:** = *ne . . . quidem.* Cf. Ch. 2, N. 19.

superbiendo: there were three main reasons adduced in the early Church for the fall of the angels: (1) that they fell through *lust,* being enamoured of the daughters of men. Cf. Gen. 6, 1 sqq.; Enoch 6; Iustin. *Ap.* 2, 5; Athenag. 24; Clemens Alex. *Paed.* 2, 2 and *Stromateis,* 3, 329; Tert. *De Cult. Fem.* 1; (2) that they fell through *envy* of man, whom God had created. Cf. Iren. *Haer.* 4, 40, 3; Cypr. *De Zelo et Livore,* 4; (3) that they fell through *pride;* this was the theory most commonly accepted in Augustine's time. Cf. Eusebius, *Praep.* 7, 16; Athan. *De Virgin.* 5; Cyr. Hier. *Cat.* 2, 3; Greg. Naz. *Arc.* 6. **aliquid:** = *quicquam.* Cf. Ch. 1, N. 17.

28ª. **novit . . . ordinare:** = *scit . . . ordinare.* The use of *nosse* with the infinitive is poetical and p. c. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8, 317, *aut componere opes norant, aut parcere parto;* Ambr. *Hex.* 5, 6, *novit ulcisci;* ibid. 6, 26, *novit temptare;* Aug. *Serm.* 98, 3, *qui non novit legere.*

29. **animas:** corrected by Augustine in the *Retractations* to *spiritus,* as being a word more suitable to angels (cf. *Retractationes,* 2, 14, *ubi dixi . . . deserentes se animas, convenientius diceretur: deserentes se spiritus, quoniam de angelis agebatur*). It may be observed that the word *retractatio* used by Augustine does not mean 'retractation' in the English sense of that word, but 'retreatment,' 'revision.' It is very seldom that Augustine has to 'retract.' On the *Retractationes,* cf. Harnack, *Die Retractationes Augustins,* in *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaft* (1905), 53; also E. Portalié's article on Augustine in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique,* 1, 2287.

30. **itaque nec diabolus aliquid deo nocuit . . . vel hominem seduxit ad mortem: nec:** = *ne . . . quidem.* Cf. Ch. 2, note 19. For the thought, cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei* 12, 3, *dicuntur autem in Scripturis inimici Dei, qui non natura, sed vitiis adversantur eius imperio, nihil ei valentes nocere, sed sibi;* cf. also Aug. *Conf.* 5, 2, 2. Augustine may have in mind here the Manichaean theory according to which the principle of evil could harm the principle of good. **hominem seduxit ad mortem:** *seducere* is here used in its moral meaning of 'to lead astray.' Cf. Marc. 13, 15, *videte ne quis vos seducat.* For the Scripture reference, cf. Gen, 3, 4, *dixit autem serpens ad mulierem: nequaquam moriemini;* also 2 Cor. 11, 3.

31. **in aliquo minuit veritatem aut potestatem aut beatitatem: in aliquo:** = *in ulla re.* Classical writers avoid the oblique cases of the neuter where the gender is not apparent. For p. c. usage, cf. Tert. *Apol.* 2, 10, *sed nec in isto* (= *in ista re*); cf. Hoppe 98. *Beatitas* is not found so frequently as *beatitudo* (cf. Ch. 16, N. 38). For examples of its use, cf. Macrob. *Somn. Scip.* 1, 8; Apul. *Dogm. Plat.* II, 10. Augustine most probably uses *beatitatem* here instead of *beatitudinem* for the sake of assonance: *veritatem . . . potestatem . . . beatitatem.*

32. **coniugi suae seductae a diabolo . . . consensit:** cf. 1 Tim. 2, 14, *et Adam non est seductus: mulier autem seducta in praevaricatione fuit.*

32ª. **propria:** = *sua.* It is a tendency of late Latin to replace the possessive pronoun *suus* by *proprius.* There is a suspicion of this use in Tacitus; cf. *Ann.* 6, 50, 9, *propria ad negotia digrediens.* Svennung, 65, is of the opinion that the Greek use of ἴδιος = ἑαυτοῦ influenced the use of *proprius.*

33. **omnes damnati sunt, deo glorioso per aequitatem vindictae, ipsi ignominiosi per turpitudinem poenae:** *ipsi ignominiosi* is in apposition with *omnes,* and forms with the ablative absolute *deo glorioso,* etc. an anaphora. Usually anaphorae are formed from similar grammatical constructions. This is another example of hasty dictation and lack of revision. **deo glorioso:** cf. Dan. 3, 56, *et laudabilis et gloriosus in saecula.*

34. **homo a suo creatore aversus,** etc.: cf. Aug. *Quaest. ad Simplicianum* 1, 2, 18, *est autem peccatum hominis inordinatio atque perversitas; id est a praestantiore conditore aversio, ad condita inferiora conversio;* id. *De lib. Arbit.* 2, 19, 53 *aversio eius ab incommutabili bono, et conversio ad mutabilia bona.*

35. **diabolo . . . consentirent:** *consentire* is here used in its Scriptural meaning of 'to conspire with,' 'enter into a wicked agreement with.' Cf. 2 Thess. 2, 12, *consenserunt iniquitati.*

CHAPTER 19.

(31) *God has few followers; the devil, many. There are two cities or kingdoms; the one of the good, the other of the wicked. Though they exist together now, they shall be separated hereafter.*

(32, 33) *God is patient with the wicked, even as He was in the days of Noe. Of the flood and of the ark; their mystic meaning. The election of Abraham.*

1. **multi diabolo consentiunt, et pauci deum sequuntur:** for the meaning of *consentiunt*, cf. Ch. 18, N. 35. Though the number of the wicked is greater than the number of the just, even as there is more chaff than grain, still, relatively speaking, the number of the just is great. Cf. Aug. *De Unit. Eccl.* 14, 36, *multi per se ipsos considerati, pauci autem in comparatione iniquorum.* Cf. Matth. 7, 3, *intrate per angustam portam, quia lata porta, et spatiosa via est, quae ducit ad perditionem, et multi sunt qui intrant per eam.*

2. **novit quid de illis agat:** God knows how to dispose of the wicked. For the thought, cf. Aug. *Serm.* 15, 4, *quid faciunt, inquit, in hoc mundo, homines mali? Responde mihi, in fornace aurificis palea quid facit; Serm.* 301, 6, *alii mali servantur ut boni inde nascantur.* Cf. also Aug. *De Ordine*, 2, 4; *De lib. Arbit.* 3, 9, 25; Plotinus, *Enn.* 3, 2, 11.

3. **ut administratio . . . ex nulla parte turbetur atque turpetur:** = *ne administratio . . . ex ulla parte.* This is a negative purpose clause, and not a negative result clause (cf. Ch. 6, N. 20). With *ex nulla parte* ('by no means') cf. Quint. *Inst. orat.*, 2, 16, 18, nulla in parte; Ov. *Her.*, 7, 110, *nulla parte.* Note paronomasia, *turbetur atque turpetur.*

3ª. **adtraxit:** cf. Apoc. 12, 4, *et cauda eius trahebat tertiam partem stellarum caeli.*

4. **duae itaque civitates:** we must not make the mistake of translating *civitas* here by 'state.' *Civitas* is here used by Augustine in the meaning of city, society, or organized community with the rights of citizenship, without any reference to a material city. In *De cat. Rud.* C. 21 S. 37, he makes this plain by using

the phrase *civitatem societatemque.* Cf. also *De Civ. Dei* 14, 1, *ac per hoc factum est, ut, . . . non tamen amplius quam duo quaedam genera humanae societatis existerent, quas civitates duas secundum scripturas nostras merito appellare possemus;* ibid. 15, 18, *superna civitas, id est hominum societas;* ibid. 15, 20, *haec terrena civitas societasque hominum.* This conception of the word *civitas* is not original with Augustine. In fact it was so familiar to his African hearers (particularly through its use in the Scriptures and in Tyconius) that Augustine employs it without a word of explanation. *Civitas* in its Augustinian sense can be traced back to Plato. Cf. *Leg.* 713 A.; 731, E.; *Rep.* 592, B. We have likewise the authority of Clement of Alexandria that it was used by the Stoics in this meaning. Cf. *Strom.* 4, 26, λέγουσι . . . οἱ Στωϊκοὶ τὸν μὲν οὐρανὸν κυρίως πόλιν, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πόλεις. λέγεσθαι μὲν γάρ, οὐκ εἶναι δέ. σπουδαῖον γὰρ ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀστεῖόν τι σύστημα καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, ὑπὸ νόμου διοικούμενον . . . εἰκόνας τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ κτίζουσι γράφοντες· αἱ γὰρ Ὑπερβόρεοι καὶ Ἀριμάσπειοι πόλεις καὶ τὰ Ἠλύσια πεδία δικαίων πολιτεύματα. It is likewise found in its Augustinian sense in Latin authors. Cf. Cic. *De Leg.* 1, 23, *ut iam universus hic mundus una civitas communis deorum atque hominum existimanda sit;* also Sen. *De Otio* 4, 1, *duas respublicas animo complectamur, alteram magnam et vere publicam, qua di et homines continentur, in qua non ad hunc angulum respicimus aut ad illum, sed terminos civitatis nostrae cum sole metimur: alteram cui nos adscripsit condicio nascendi. Haec aut Atheniensium erit aut Carthaginiensium aut alterius alicuius urbis, quae non ad omnes pertineat homines, sed ad certos.* The Scriptures, of course, had familiarized the Christians with the notion of the *civitas.* Cf. Ps. 86, 3, *gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas Dei;* Ps. 47, 2, *magnus dominus, et laudabilis nimis in civitate Dei nostri;* Hebr. 11, 10, *expectabat enim fundamenta habentem civitatem, cuius artifex et conditor Deus;* ibid. 12, 22, *sed accessistis ad Sion montem, et civitatem Dei viventis, Ierusalem caelestem;* ibid. 12, 22, *sed accessistis ad Sion montem, et civitatem Dei viventis, Ierusalem caelestem;* 13, 14, *non . . . habemus hic manentem civitatem;* Apoc. 3, 12, *et scribam super eum nomen Dei mei, et nomen civitatis Dei mei novae Ierusalem;* ibid. 21, 2, *et ego Ioannes vidi sanctam civitatem Ierusalem novam.* Tyconius, whose exegetical skill was highly

esteemed by Augustine, likewise greatly influenced him. Cf. Tyconius, *Comment. In Apocalypsin* (the text as reconstructed by T. Hahn in his *Tyconius-Studien* in Bonwetsch und Seeberg, *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche* 6, 2, Leipzig, 1900 p. 25, A. 1) : *ecce duas civitates, unam Dei et unam diaboli;* ibid. p. 29, *perspicue patet duas civitates esse et duo regna et duos reges, christum et diabolum: et ambo super utrasque civitates regnant . . . hae duae civitates, una mundo et una desideret servire Christo . . . hae utraeque ita laborant in unum, una ut habeat unde damnetur, altera ut habeat unde salvetur.* Augustine makes his first reference to these two rival communities in *De Vera Religione* (written about 390 A. D.), 25, without, however, using the word *civitas: universum genus humanum ab Adam usque ad finem huius saeculi, ita sub divinae providentiae legibus administratur, ut in duo genera distributum appareat. Quorum in uno est turba impiorum, terreni hominis imaginem ab initio saeculi usque ad finem gerentium. In altero series populi uni Deo dediti, sed ab Adam usque ad Ioannem Baptistam terreni hominis vitam gerentis servili quadam iustitia* (cf. Philo, *Quis Rer. divin. Haeres,* 12, ὥστε διττὸν εἶναι γένος ἀνθρώπων, τὸ μὲν θείῳ πνεύματι καὶ λογισμῷ βιούντων, τὸ δὲ αἵματι καὶ σαρκὸς ἡδονῇ ζώντων. τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος πλάσμα ἐστὶ γῆς, ἐκεῖνο δὲ θείας εἰκόνος ἐμφερὲς ἐκμαγεῖον). Augustine applies the term *civitates* to the two rival communities for the first time in the present passage of our treatise. The idea of comparing these two communities to two cities was suggested, most probably, by the Rules of Tyconius in which the famous Donatist exegete speaks of the two cities, the one of God, the other of the devil. This contrast of the two cities was later on to form the central theme of Augustine's great work, *De Civitate Dei.* Cf. *De Civ. Dei,* 14, 28, *fecerunt itaque civitates duas amores duo, terrenam scilicet amor sui usque ad contemptum Dei, caelestem vero amor Dei usque ad contemptum sui;* cf. also ibid. 15, 1, *quod* (*genus hominum*) *in duo genera distribuimus, unum eorum, qui secundum hominem, alterum eorum, qui secundum Deum vivunt; quas etiam mystice appellamus civitates duas.* Cf. Scholz, 78; Hahn, *Tyconius-Studien,* in *Studien zur Geschichte d. Theol. u. d. Kirche,* 6, 2 (1900); Haussleiter's article in *Prot. Real-Encyclopädie,* 20, pp. 851-5; Monceaux, 5, 219; Heinrich Hermelink, *Die Civitas terrena*

bei Augustin, in *Festgabe für A. von Harnack,* Tübingen (1921), pp. 302-24.

5. **permixtae corporibus sed voluntatibus separatae:** figure of chiasmus. Cf. Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* 61, 8 *et sunt istae duae civitates permixtae interim; in fine separandae; De Civ. Dei,* 1, 35, *perplexae quippe sunt istae duae civitates in hoc saeculo invicemque permixtae, donec ultimo iudicio dirimantur.*

6. **omnes . . . amantes:** = *omnes . . . qui amant.* The use of the pronouns *is, ipse, ille,* and *omnis* with the participle, in imitation of the Greek usage of article with partciple, is frequently found in Biblical Latin. For the construction cf. *Ps.* 100, 8, *ut disperderem de civitate Domini omnes operantes iniquitatem.* (*πάντας τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὴν ἀδικίαν.*).

7. **typho:** cf. Ch. 16, N. 13.

8. **pompa arrogantiae:** = *pompa arroganti.* Cf. Ch. 18, N. 25.

9. **se:** = *se invicem.* For the reciprocal use of a simple reflexive in p. c. Latin, cf. Ch. 12, N. 2.

10. **pari tamen pondere . . . profunditatem praecipitantur:** note alliteration. **profunditatem:** p. c. for *profundum.* Cf. Goelzer, 103; K. S. 2, 393. For the expression, cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei,* 1, 28, *quaedam enim veluti pondera malarum cupiditatum . . . relaxantur.* Sin is frequently likened in ecclesiastical language to a weight; cf. *Roman Missal, Collect for the Feast of S. Gregory the Great, qui peccatorum nostrorum pondere premimur;* cf. Prud. *Cath.* 10, *animus quoque pondere victus | sequitur sua membra seorsum.* The metaphor may have been suggested by Sap. 9, 15, *corpus enim, quod corrumpitur, aggravat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem.*

11. **misericordissimus:** this superlative is first used by Augustine. Cf. N. W. 2, 254.

12. **super impios homines patiens:** = *in impios homines patiens.* The use of *super* with the accusative after certain adjectives and participles is p. c.; it occurs frequently in Biblical Latin. Cf. Luc. 7, 13, *misericordia motus super eam* (*ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ' αὐτῇ*). Cf. 2 Pet. 3, 9, *non tardat Dominus promissionem suam, sicut quidam*

existimant: sed patienter agit propter vos, nolens aliquos perire, sed omnes ad paenitentiam reverti.

13. **diluvio delevit:** cf. Gen. 6, 17, *ecce ego adducam aquas diluvii super terram.*

14. **arca:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'Noe's ark.' Cf. Gen. 6, 14, *fac tibi arcam;* Hebr. 11, 7, *fide Noe responso accepto de iis, quae adhuc non videbantur, metuens aptavit arcam in salutem domus suae, per quam damnavit mundum;* 2 Pet. 2, 5, *et originali mundo non pepercit, sed octavum Noe iustitiae praeconem custodivit, diluvium mundo impiorum inducens.*

15. **noverat . . . quod non se correcturi essent:** for the construction, cf. Ch. 1, N. 7.

16. **converterentur:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning = 'to be converted, changed morally.' Cf. *Ps.* 7, 12, *nisi conversi fueritis, gladium suum vibrabit.* Cf. Kaulen, 186.

17. **pepercit postea Ninive:** cf. Ionas, 3, 10, *et misertus est deus super malitiam quam locutus fuerat ut faceret eis, et non fecit.*

18. **per prophetam:** cf. Ionas, 3, 12, *et factum est verbum domini ad Ionam.*

19. **in malitia perseveraturos dans paenitendi spatium: in malitia perseveraturos:** for the expression cf. 1 Reg. 12, 25, *quod si perseveraverit in malitia.* **dans paenitendi spatium:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12, 696, *discessere omnes medii, spatiumque dedere.* The phrase *paenitendi spatium* = 'opportunity, time for repentance.' For 'space' used in this meaning in English, cf. Holland, *Kathrina, Childhood and Youth,* 47: 'To crime that leaves no space for penitence'; Lydgate's *Prayer at the Holy Communion:* 'Grant in the fashion that I see thee here | Thee to receive, while I have life and space'; *From the Lay-Folk's Mass Book:* 'Jesus, my love, grant me thy grace, | And for amendment might and space.'

20. **informet:** the metaphorical use of this verb 'to form,' 'to mould,' is confined in classical Latin to the expression *ad humanitatem informari* (cf. Cic. *Pro Arch.* 3); Walpole, 37, observes that this is a favorite word of St. Ambrose.

21. **cum ignoremus quales postea futuri sunt:** for the use of the indicative instead of the subjunctive in indirect questions, cf. Ch. 16, N. 1[a].

22. **diluvii sacramento:** the deluge was a symbol of the sacrament of baptism. Cf. 1 Pet. 3, 20, *cum fabricaretur arca, in qua pauci, id est octo animae salvae factae sunt per aquam: quod et vos nunc similis formae salvos facit baptisma.*

23. **lignum:** the wood of the ark by which Noe and his family were saved is a figure of the Cross. Cf. Gal. 3, 13, *Christus nos redemit de maledicto legis, factus pro nobis maledictum: quia scriptum est: Maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno.*

24. **rex:** cf. 1 Tim. 6, 15, *rex regum;* Apoc. 19, 16, *rex regum.*

25. **submersione:** p. c. Cf. *Arnob.* 5, 182. For the thought, cf. Aug. *Serm.* 131, 2, *sed quoniam etiam in tali itinere abundant fluctus et tempestates diversarum tentationum; in crucifixum crede, ut fides tua lignum possit ascendere. Non mergeris, sed ligno portaberis.* Cf. *Serm.* 252, 2, *annon est mare hoc saeculum . . . an parva pericula navigantium, id est, in ligno crucis patriam caelestem quaerentium?*

26. **impietates:** the pluralizing of abstract nouns is a feature of p. c. Latin, particularly of Biblical Latin. Cf. Goelzer, 301. This usage can be traced back to colloquial Latin. Tyrrell and Purser (*The Correspondence of Cicero,* Vol. I, 79) have collected a number of plural abstract substantives from the letters of Cicero, in which, inasmuch as he is writing familiarly, he employs many constructions and phrases of the *sermo plebeius.* Most of these plurals, Tyrell and Purser show, can be reproduced in Plautus.

27. **non solum ad creaturam quam deus condidit, lapsi sunt, ut pro deo colerent quod fecit deus; sed etiam ad opera manuum hominum et ad fabrorum artificia curvaverunt animas suas:** it is bad enough to adore what God made; it is still worse to adore what has been made by man. **ad creaturam:** cf. Rom. 1, 25, *qui commutaverunt veritatem Dei in mendacium, et coluerunt et servierunt creaturae potius quam creatori;* Act. 17, 29, *Genus ergo cum simus Dei, non debemus aestimare auro, aut argento, aut lapidi, sculpturae artis, et cogitationis hominis, Divinum esse simile.* **ad opera manuum hominum,** etc.: for the expression, cf. *Ps.* 113, 4, *simulacra gentium argentum et aurum, opera manuum hominum.* All the apologists point out the stupidity and blindness of the pagans in adoring their own handiwork. Cf. Min. Fel. *Oct.* 22, *quis ergo*

dubitat horum imagines consecratas vulgus orare et publice colere, dum opinio et mens imperitorum artis concinnitate decipitur . . . ecce funditur, fabricatur, sculpitur: nondum deus est . . . tunc postremo deus est, cum homo illum voluit et dedicavit; cf. Tert. Apol. 12, *quantum autem de simulacris ipsis, nihil aliud reprehendo quam materias sorores esse vasculorum instrumentorumque communium.* Even pagan writers saw the absurdity of 'making' gods. Cf. Martial, *Ep.* 8, 24, 5, *qui fingit sacros auro vel marmore vultus | Non facit ille deos: qui rogat, ille facit.* **curvaverunt:** cf. Isa. 2, 8-9, *et repleta est terra eius idolis; opus manuum suarum adoraverunt, quod fecerunt digiti eorum. Et incurvavit se homo, et humiliatus est vir;* Pers. 2, 61, *o curvae in terras animae, et caelestium inanes!*

27ª. **ubi:** = *quibus* (*operibus . . . et artificiis*). The pronominal use of the adverbs *ubi, quo, unde,* and *inde,* though occurring in classical Latin, becomes much more frequent in p. c. Latin. Cf. Ch. 12, N. 10.

28. **diabolus et daemonia:** for the distinction in the use of these terms, cf. the phrase of the Fourth Lateran Council, *diabolus enim et alii daemones:* that is, by *diabolus* is meant Satan himself, while the rest of the fallen angels, his subordinates, are called *daemones* or *daemonia.*

29. **quae se in talibus figmentis adorari venerarique laetantur:** the idea that worship paid to false gods was in reality paid to demons was common among the Jews, from whom it easily passed into the early Christian writers. Cf. 1 Cor. 10, 20, *sed quae immolant gentes, daemoniis immolant, et non deo.* Cf. Tert. *Idol.* 4; Aug. *De Civ. Dei* 2, 24, 1, *nempe intelleguntur daemones, sicut saepe dixi notumque nobis est in litteris sacris resque ipsae satis indicant, negotium suum agere ut pro dis habeantur et colantur, ut ea illis exhibeantur, quibus hi qui exhibent sociati unam pessimam causam cum eis habeant in iudicio Dei.* Cf. G. Bareille, *Angélologie d'après les Pères,* in *Dict. de théologie catholique,* t. 1, 2, col. 1192; also E. Mangenot, *Démon d'après les Pères,* ibid. t. 4, 1, col. 368. **in talibus figmentis:** many of the early Christian writers believed that pagan cult statues were tenanted by demons, who took for themselves the worship meant for the gods. Cf. Cyprian, *Quod Idola Dii non sint,* 7, *hi ergo spiritus sub statuis*

atque imaginibus consecrati delitescunt; Acta S. Symphoriosae, p. 23 (Ruinart, 2), *sacrificiis idolorum ac daemonum qui in idolis habitant;* Min. Fel. *Oct.* 27, *isti igitur impuri spiritus daemones, ut ostensum magis a philosophis et a Platone, sub statuis et imaginibus consecrati delitescunt;* Tert. *Apol.* 21; Lact. *Div. Inst.* 2, 14. **venerari:** the passive use of this deponent is p. c. This usage can be traced back to colloquial Latin where deponent verbs are frequently found with active forms. Cf. Linderbauer's note on *Reg. S. Benedicti,* Cap. 4, 49, *venerare;* also Rönsch, 257; Salonius, 256.

30. **errores suos humanis erroribus pascunt:** the demons feed their errors upon those of mankind. In using the verb *pasci* here Augustine most probably had in mind a belief that was prevalent as early as Justin (cf. *Apol.* 1, 5), but which he himself rejects in *Contra Faustum,* namely, that the gods themselves frequently fed upon the food offered in sacrifices at the altars of the gods. The association in Augustine's mind is, therefore, that if the gods do not feed upon the food offered to the idols, they do feed upon the errors of mankind. For the thought, cf. Tert. *Apol.* 22, *eadem igitur obscuritate contagionis adspiratio daemonum et angelorum mentis quoque corruptelas agit furoribus et amentiis foedis aut saevis libidinibus cum erroribus variis, quorum iste potissimus quo deos istos captis et circumscriptis hominum mentibus commendat, ut et sibi pabula propria nidoris et sanguinis procuret simulacris imaginibus oblata. Et quae illi accuratior pascua est, quam ut hominem e cogitatu verae divinitatis avertat praestigiis falsis.* On this passage see Mayor's note. Cf. Aug. *Sex Quaest. contra Paganos, Ep.* 1, *Quaest.* 3, 20, *quod illi deos, nos eos angelos appellamus, non se opponunt eis ludificandis multiplici fallacia, nisi daemones, qui errore delectantur et quodammodo pascuntur humano;* id. *Contra Faustum,* 20, 22, *Illi quippe superbi et impii spiritus, non nidore ac fumo, sicut nonnulli vani opinantur, sed hominum pascuntur erroribus: non sui corporis refectione, sed malevola delectatione cum quoquo modo decipiunt, vel arroganti fastu simulatae maiestatis cum divinos sibi honores exhiberi gloriantur.*

31. **neque tunc sane defuerunt iusti:** *sane* is here concessive. Cf. Cic. *De Orat* 1, 2, *non sane satis explicata recordatio.* Cf. Aug.

De Civ. Dei 22, 1, *terrenum quidem animal, sed coelo dignum* ("an earthly animal, to be sure, but worthy of heaven"). There were indeed just men in the Old Testament, but they were justified by the future merits of Jesus Christ.

32. **cives illius sanctae civitatis:** for the expression, cf. Apoc. 21, 2, *et ego Ioannes vidi sanctam civitatem Ierusalem novam, descendentem de caelo;* also Apoc. 17, 12. Note figure of etymology, *cives . . . civitatis.*

33. **Abraham:** cf. Gen. 18, 3. The history of Abraham and of the promises made to him is set forth at great length in Book XVI of the *De Civitate Dei.*

34. **sacramentum filii dei:** 'the mystery or revelation, concerning the Son of God (*filii* being here an objective genitive). Cf. Ephes. 1, 9, *ut notum faceret nobis sacramentum voluntatis suae,* where *sacramentum* translates μυστήριον. In Biblical Greek, however, μυστήριον does not mean a mystery, as the word is commonly used in English, but 'a truth once hidden, and now revealed,' a revelation. Cf. Ch. 17, Note 34. The word μυστήριον occurs 21 times in St. Paul; it has been translated indiscriminately as *sacramentum* and *mysterium.* 'The mystery,' of course, referred to here, is the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. Sometimes, too, in this treatise he refers to the mystery of the Incarnation as *humilitas* (*par excellence*). Cf. the preceding sentence in this section, *quos regis sui Christi ventura humilitas per spiritum revelata sanavit . . . revelabatur futura humilitas dei.* Augustine, when using this word to designate the Incarnation, had in mind Philip. 2, 8, *humiliavit semetipsum factus obediens usque ad mortem;* this is one of his favorite texts.

35. **omnes fideles omnium gentium:** note figure of repetition, *omnes . . . omnium.* Cf. Ch. 8, N. 26. For the Scripture reference, cf. Galat. 3, 7, *qui ex fide sunt, ii sunt filii Abraham.*

36. **qui fecit caelum et terram:** from Ps. 123, 8, *qui fecit caelum et terram.*

37. **pauci . . . cogitantes et . . . requirentes:** = *pauci . . . . qui cogitabant et . . . qui requirebant.* Cf. Ch. 19, N. 6. For the expression, cf. Hebr. 11, 14-16, *qui enim haec dicunt, signifi-*

cant se patriam inquirere . . . nunc autem meliorem appetunt, id est, caelestem.

37ª. **humilitas dei:** that is, the Incarnation; cf. N. 34, above.

38. **domini nostri Iesu Christi:** for the expression, cf. 1 Cor. 16, 22; Eph. 1, 2, etc.; the Athanasian Creed, 28, *est ergo Fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur, quia dominus noster Iesus Christus, dei filius, deus pariter et homo est.* So striking is the correspondence between the phraseology of this creed and that of St. Augustine that many scholars have attributed it to him. Most probably, however, it is the work of St. Ambrose. The Ambrosian authorship was quite conclusively proved by Father H. Brewer, S. J., in his classic work, *Das sogenannte Athanasianische Glaubensbekenntnis ein Werk des heiligen Ambrosius* (Paderborn, 1909). R. Seeberg, in the new edition of his *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte,* 2, p. 165, comes out in favor of Father Brewer's view, likewise A. E. Burn in *The Authorship of the Quicumque vult,* in *J. Th. S.* 27 (1925), 119. For various other theories, cf. Headlam, *The Athanasian Creed,* in *The Church Quarterly Review* 65 (1908), 24; also Dom Morin, *L'Origine du symbole d'Athanase,* in *J. Th. S.* 12 (1911), 161, 377.

39. **ab omni superbia et tumore sanarentur:** p. c. writers, imitating the usage of Biblical Latin, frequently employ the prepositions *ab, ex,* or *de* with figurative verbs of separation, where classical Latin would use a simple ablative of separation. Cf. Luc. 6, 18, *qui venerant ut . . . sanarentur a languoribus;* id. 5, 15; Goelzer, 335.

40. **qui praecesserunt tempore nativitatem domini:** = *qui praecesserunt tempore natum dominum.* For the construction, cf. Ch. 14, N. 2. *Nativitas* is p. c. Cf. Iac. 1, 23, *hic comparabitur viro consideranti vultum nativitatis suae in speculo.*

41. **coniugia:** = *coniuges.* The use of the abstract for the concrete, which in classical Latin was usually confined to poetry (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3, 296, *coniugio Aeacidae Pyrrhi sceptrisque potitum*) becomes common in p. c. Latin. For the Scriptural reference, cf. Osee 1, 2, *Vade, sume tibi uxorem fornicationum, et fac tibi filios fornicationum;* Isa. 8, 1.

42. **filii:** = *liberi.* The use of *filius* in this meaning is common in Scripture. Cf. A. Funck, *Was heisst ' die Kinder,'* in *Archiv* 7 (1892), 86.

43. **ex gentibus congregatur ecclesia:** cf. Hier. *Ep.* 123, 13, *ecclesiam significat de gentibus congregatam.*

44. **duritiae:** cf. Deut. 9, 27, *ne aspicias duritiam populi huius.*

45. **ad Christum et ecclesiam:** for the expression, cf. Ephes. 5, 32, *ego autem dico in Christo et in ecclesia.*

46. **fuerint:** according to the sequence of tenses we should have expected *fuissent.*

47. **secundum carnem:** for the expression, cf. Rom. 4, 1, *quid ergo dicemus invenisse Abraham patrem nostrum secundum carnem?*

48. **unigenitus:** p. c., being a literal translation of the Greek word μονογενής. Cf. Ioan. 1, 14, *gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre.* Cf. Nicene Creed, *filium dei unigenitum.*

49. **verbum patris:** cf. Ioan. 1, 1. For the expression, cf. Athanas. *Apologia de Fuga Sua* 11, Λόγος τοῦ Πατρός; Prud., *Cath.* 7, 1, *O Nazarene, lux Bethlem, verbum patris.*

50. **coaeternum:** p. c. Cf. Athanasian Creed, *coaeterna maiestas.* Owing to the Christological heresies of the fifth century it became necessary to define dogmatic truths with greater precision. To this end many new compound adjectives such as *consubstantialis, coaeternus, et al.* were coined.

51. **homo propter nos factus est:** cf. Nicene Creed, *qui propter nos homines . . . et homo factus est.*

52. **ut totius ecclesiae . . . caput esset:** cf. Col. 1, 18, *et ipse est caput corporis ecclesiae;* 1 Cor. 12, 12, *sicut enim corpus unum est, et membra habet multa, omnia autem membra corporis cum sint multa, unum tamen corpus sunt: ita et Christus.*

53. **coniuncta atque compacta est:** cf. Ephes. 4, 15, *veritatem autem facientes in caritate, crescamus in illo per omnia, qui est caput Christus: ex quo totum corpus compactum, et connexum per omnem iuncturam subministrationis. . . .*

54. **ante domini nostri Iesu Christi nativitatem:** = *ante dominum nostrum Iesum Christum natum.* Cf. Ch. 14, N. 2. Augustine always teaches that the Saints of the Old Testament were Christians through their faith in Christ Who was to come.

55. **quamvis ante nati sunt:** *quamvis* usually takes the subjunctive in classical Latin; in p. c. Latin it frequently takes the indicative. Cf. S. S. 455, 190.

CHAPTER 20.

(34) *The Israelites in bondage; their deliverance through the Red Sea; the Passover; the mystical meaning of these facts.*

(35) *The law, written by the finger of God on tables of stone, given to the Israelites. The learned should be warned against anthropomorphism.*

(36) *The city of Jerusalem is founded: a type of the heavenly Jerusalem.*

1. **servivit regi durissimo:** cf. Exod. 1, 8.

1ª. **laboribus eruditus:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 2, 14, 34, *laboribus erudiunt iuventutem.*

2. **unus:** = *quidam.* For this use of *unus* in p. c. Latin, cf. S. S. 623, 18, Anmerk. 4; Salonius, 237.

3. **in virtute dei:** for the phrase, cf. 1 Pet. 1, 5, *qui in virtute dei custodimini per fidem.*

4. **impiam gentem:** for the phrase, cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2, 537, *ante | impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvencis.*

5. **populum dei:** for the expression, cf. Deut. 26, 19, *ut sis populus sanctus domini dei tui.*

6. **discedens aqua:** cf. Exod. 14, 21, *cumque extendisset Moyses manum super mare, abstulit illud Dominus flante vento vehemente et urente tota nocte, et vertit in siccum; divisaque est aqua. Et ingressi sunt filii Israel per medium sicci maris.*

7. **Aegyptii autem, cum eos persequerentur, redeuntibus in se fluctibus demersi exstincti sunt:** cf. Exod. 14, 28; Ambr. *In Ps.* 37, 20, *Aegyptiorum . . . populos Rubri maris demersit profundo.* **redeuntibus in se fluctibus:** this phrase may be reminiscent of Ovid, *Met.* 7, 199, *amnes | in fontes rediere suos. . . .* Professor Souter has supplied the following references: Aug. *De Civ. Dei,* 10, 8, *illis diviso mari per siccum transeuntibus unda hinc atque in sese redeunte cooperti et oppressi sunt;* id. 16, 43, *hos autem insequentes in se rediens unda submersit.*

8. **nequitia peccatorum:** cf. *Ps.* 7, 10, *consumetur nequitia peccatorum.*

9. **virga percussit Moyses:** cf. Exod. 14, 16, *tu autem eleva virgam tuam, et extende manum tuam super mare, et divide illud.*

10. **baptismi . . . per quod:** *baptismum* is p. c. Three forms of this word occur, *baptismus, baptisma* (*-atis*), and *baptismum,* as here, which form, however, is relatively rare. It occurs in the Old Latin version, Matth. 21, 25, *baptismum Ioannis unde erat.* Augustine most probably had the Old Latin version form in mind here. Cf. Watson, 297; *T. L. L.* s. v. Baptism is the only sacrament referred to explicitly in this treatise; but note how he prepares the ground for, and skilfully leads up to, the other sacraments.

10ª. **novam vitam:** cf. Rom. 6, 4, *consepulti enim sumus cum illo per baptismum in mortem: ut quomodo Christus surrexit a mortuis per gloriam Patris, ita et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus.*

11. **passio:** a consecrated word among ecclesiastical writers to designate the 'passion of Christ.' Cf. Koffmane, 51; Goelzer, 73.

12. **iussi sunt ovem occidere:** cf. Exod. 12, 3, *decima die mensis huius tollat unus quisque agnum . . . immolabitque eum universa multitudo filiorum Israel ad vesperam.*

13. **de sanguine:** = *sanguine.* The instrumental use of the preposition *de* occurs frequently in p. c. Latin. This preposition shows most the influence of colloquial usage; cf. the use of *de* in French and *di* in Italian. Cf. S. S. 408, 136; Guillemin, 117. Augustine himself recognizes this use when explaining the instrumental use of the preposition *in* imitated from the Hebrew. Cf.

Aug. *Locut. de Exod.* 89, in which he explains Exod. 17, 5, *virgam in qua percussisti,* by saying, *in qua percussisti dixit pro eo quod dicimus de qua percussisti.* For the Scriptural reference, cf. Exod. 11, 7, *et sument de sanguine eius, ac ponent super utrumque postem.*

14. **omni anno:** = *singulis annis* or *quotannis.* In classical Latin the singular *omnis* is not used distributively, when there is question of time, except in certain phrases like *omni puncto temporis, omni tempore* (cf. Cic. *Pro Rosc. Am.* 51). The use of *omnis* in expressions of time was widely extended in p. c. Latin. Cf. *omni die* = *quotidie;* note the Italian *ogni anno.* Cf. Wölfflin, *Umschreibungen mit tempus,* in *Archiv,* 8 (1893), 595.

15. **pascha:** (πάσχα) usually indeclinable. Cf. Kaulen, 121. For the Scripture reference, cf. Exod. 12, 11, *est enim Phase* (*id est transitus*) *Domini.* The Old Latin version (which Augustine follows for the Old Testament) reads, *Pascha est enim Domini.*

16. **manifestissime:** p. c. in the superlative form. Cf. Apul. *Mag.* 316, 26, *ut omnibus manifestissime pateat.*

17. **tamquam ad immolandum ductus est:** the Vulgate of Isa. 53, 7, reads, *sicut ovis ad occisionem ducetur;* the Old Latin version, *sicut ovis ad victimam ductus est.* Augustine is here following another old version, for Lact. *Inst. Div.* 1, 4, likewise has, *sicut ovis ad immolandum ductus est.* **ad immolandum:** = *ut immolaretur.* This passive use of the gerundive after the preposition *ad* is p. c. Cf. Hil. Pict. *In Ps.* 118, 1, 15, *scit apostolus nos derelinqui ad tentandum* (= *ut tentemur*). Augustine may have regarded this use of the gerundive with *ad* as voiceless (= abstract noun). Apuleius is fond of this construction; cf. *Apol.* 33, *videamus tamen, quae fuerint piscium genera tam necessaria ad habendum tamque rara ad reperiendum . . . ultro attulit ad inspiciendum* ("However, let us see what these fish were, fish so necessary *for possession,* and so hard *to find* . . . he brought of his own suggestion for me *to inspect*"). Cf. Matth. 20, 19, *et tradent eum Gentibus ad illudendum, et flagellandum, et crucifigendum* (καὶ παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰς τὸ ἐμπαῖξαι καὶ μαστιγῶσαι καὶ σταυρῶσαι) which may be translated either: "and they shall deliver

him to the Gentiles *to be mocked,* and *scourged,* and *crucified"* or *"for mocking,* and *scourging,* and *crucifying"* or *"to mock,* and *scourge, and crucify."* Cf. the English idiom: "I have work *to do"* (=*"to be done"*).

18. **cuius passionis et crucis signo in fronte tamquam in poste signandus es, omnesque Christiani signantur:** *passionis et crucis* is a favorite phrase of the Roman Liturgy; cf. the oration after the *Angelus Domini: per passionem eius et crucem.* **signo . . . signandus:** the use of two words having the same root is a form of paronomasia frequently employed in Hebrew for emphasis. Cf. Num. 15, 35, *morte moriatur.* For the phrase, cf. *Roman Pontifical, Order of Confirmation: signo te signo sanctae crucis.* **in fronte tamquam in poste:** just as the Israelites marked their door-posts with the blood of a lamb, so the catechumens are signed with the cross, the symbol of Christ's passion and death. The signing of the forehead was one of the ceremonies attending initiation into the catechumenate (cf. Ch. 8, N. 3). Cf. Aug. *In Ps.* 141, 9, *usque adeo de cruce non erubesco, ut non in occulto loco habeam crucem Christi, sed in fronte portem; Serm.* 215, 5, *denique ne dubitares, ne erubesceres, quando primum credidisti, signum Christi in fronte tamquam in domo pudoris accepisti; Tract. in Ioan. Ev.* 118, 5, *quid est signum crucis, nisi crux Christi?* For the grammatical construction *signandus est,* cf. Ch. 1, N. 9. **omnesque Christiani signantur:** the catechumens who were about to receive baptism were likewise signed upon the forehead. Cf. *Rituale Romanum,* Cap. 2, *Ordo Baptismi: accipe signum crucis tam in fronte, quam in corde.* The formula in the *Missale Gothicum* (ed. Murat. I, p. 589) reads: *signo te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, ut sis Christianus.* For the use of *Christiani* in the meaning of *catechumeni,* cf. Ch. 10, N. 17.

19. **desertum:** the singular use of this substantive is p. c. Cf. 1 Cor. 10, 5, *nam prostrati sunt in deserto.*

20. **per quadraginta annos:** cf. Exod. 16, 35, *filii autem Israel comederunt Man quadraginta annis.*

21. **accepit etiam legem digito dei scriptam, quo nomine significatur spiritus sanctus, sicut in evangelio manifestissime declaratur: legem digito dei scriptam:** Augustine by *legem* here

means the Decalogue which he simply mentions without making any attempt to explain it, since he takes it for granted that the neophytes are already familiar with it. Cf. Rentschka, 103. **digito dei:** cf. Exod. 8, 19, *digitus dei est hic;* 31, 18, *deditque Dominus Moysi, completis huiuscemodi sermonibus in monte Sinai, duas tabulas testimonii lapideas, scriptas digito Dei;* Deut. 9, 10, *deditque mihi Dominus duas tabulas lapideas scriptas digito dei;* Ps. 8, 4, *quoniam videbo coelos tuos, opera digitorum tuorum.* **sicut in evangelio . . . declaratur:** Augustine is here referring to Matth. 12, 28, *si autem ego in spiritu Dei eiicio daemones,* and *Luc.* 11, 20, *porro si in digito Dei eiicio daemonia.* From a comparison of these two texts, together with the passages cited above from the Old Testament, it may easily be seen how *digitus Dei* came to be identified with *Spiritus Dei;* cf. Aug. *De Spir. et Litt.* 16, 28, *hic spiritus sanctus, per quem diffunditur caritas in cordibus vestris, quae plenitudo Legis est, etiam digitus Dei in Evangelio dicitur;* cf. Ambr. *In Ps.* 118, 15, 9, *digitum enim pro spiritu legimus, ut lex digito Dei scripta est;* id., *De Spir. Sanct.* 3, 2, 13; Barn. 14, 3; Clem. *Hom.* 11, 22; 16, 12. The 'finger of God' is likewise identified with the Holy Spirit in the *Demonstratio Praedicationis apostolicae,* cap. 26, p. 93, "And in the wilderness Moses received the Law from God, the Ten Words on tables of stone, written with the finger of God (now the finger of God is that which is stretched forth from the Father in the Holy Spirit); and the commandments and ordinances which he delivered to the children of Israel to observe." The allegorical method of exegesis was, therefore, a powerful weapon against the Manichaeans, for it struck at literalism upon which most of the Manicaean objections, particularly to the Old Testament, were based. For Augustine's account of Manichaean literalism and of the allegorical method of St. Ambrose, cf. *Conf.* 5, 14, 24, *nam primo etiam ipsa defendi posse mihi iam coeperunt videri et fidem catholicam, pro qua nihil posse dici adversus oppugnantes Manichaeos putaveram, iam non inpudenter asseri existimabam, maxime audito uno atque altero et saepius aenigmate soluto de scriptis veteribus, ubi, cum ad litteram acciperem, occidebar.* Cf. Ch. 9, N. 8.

22. **neque enim deus forma corporis definitus est . . . sed quia per spiritum sanctum dona dei sanctis dividuntur: neque**

enim deus forma corporis definitus est: this is aimed at the Manichaeans, who were accustomed to cite such texts as Exod. 31, 18, *deditque dominus . . . duas tabulas testimonii lapideas, scriptas digito dei,* and Deut. 9, 10, *deditque mihi dominus duas tabulas lapideas scriptas digito dei,* to prove that the orthodox conception of God was anthropomorphic (cf. Aug. *Conf.* 3, 7, 12). Augustine interpreted these texts allegorically; cf. *Ep.* 148, 13, *nam de membris dei, quae assidue scriptura commemorat, ne quisquam secundum carnis huius formam et figuram nos esse crederet similes deo, propterea eadem Scriptura et alas habere deum dixit, quas utique non habemus. Sicut ergo alas cum audimus, protectionem intelligimus: sic et cum audimus manus, operationem intelligere debemus . . . et si quid aliud eadem Scriptura tale commemorat, puto spiritualiter intelligendum.* **sed quia per spiritum sanctum dona dei sanctis dividuntur:** the Holy Ghost is referred to in Scripture as *donum Dei;* cf. Ioan. 4, 10, *si scires donum Dei;* Act. 2, 38, *et accipietis donum spiritus sancti;* id. 8, 20, *pecunia tua tecum sit in perditionem: quoniam donum Dei existimasti pecunia possideri;* also Aug. *De cat. Rud.* Ch. 27, S. 55: *Quam non implet, nisi qui donum acceperit spiritum sanctum; Conf.* 13, 9, 10, *cum ergo tantum de spiritu sancto dictum est hoc . . . de quo solo dictum est, quod sit donum tuum; De Trin.* 15, 18, 32, *quocirca rectissime spiritus sanctus, cum sit Deus, vocatur etiam donum Dei;* 15, 18, 34, *Porro autem dona ob hoc ambo dixerunt, et Propheta et Apostolus, quia per donum, quod est Spiritus sanctus, in commune omnibus membris Christi multa dona, quae sunt quibusque propria, dividuntur; Enchir.* 12, *Spiritus sanctus ipse proprie sic est Deus, ut dicatur etiam Dei donum.* Cf. the hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus,* 5-8, *qui Paraclitus diceris, | donum Dei altissimi. |*

23. **cum diversa possunt:** = *cum diversa possint. Cum* causal in p. c. Latin frequently takes the indicative.

24. **in digitis . . . apparet quaedam divisio:** cf. Aug. *Serm.* 156, 14, *dicitur spiritus sanctus digitus dei propter partitionem donorum, quae in eo dantur unicuique propria, in nullis enim membris nostris magis apparet partitio quam in digitis.*

25. **praecisio:** p. c. Cf. Apul. *Met.* 1, 9.

26. **quamcumque causam:** the use of *quicumque* as an indefinite pronoun became rather common in p. c. Latin; in the Ciceronian period it was limited to the expressions *quacumque ratione* and *quocumque modo.* Cf. Madvig 87, obs. 1; S. S. 626, 332, Anmerk. 1.

27. **in tabulis sane lapideis:** the particle *sane* is here concessive. Cf. Ch. 19, N. 31. Augustine admits that the law was given to Moses on tablets of stone; not, however, to signify that it was a law of servile fear, but to typify the stubbornness of the Jewish people. He is at pains to show that love was the foundation of the Old Law, because the Manichaeans were forever objecting that the Old and New Testament were in contradiction (cf. *Contra Faustum Man.* 15, 4). The latter contrasted the two texts: 2 Cor. 3, 2, *epistula . . . scripta non atramento, sed spiritu dei vivi; non in tabulis lapideis, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus,* and Exod. 31, 18, *deditque dominus . . . duas tabulas testimonii lapideas, scriptas digito dei.* In refuting this apparent contradiction, Augustine cited from the Old Testament Ezech. 11, 19, *auferam eis cor lapideum et dabo eis cor carneum.*

27ª. **duritiam cordis illorum:** cf. Matth. 19, 8, *ad duritiam cordis vestri.*

28. **legem autem non implet nisi caritas:** while asserting against the Manichaeans that love was necessary for the fulfilling of the law in the Old Testament (cf. also *Ep.* 177, 10), Augustine, at the same time, does not fail to show that the New Testament was immeasurably superior to the Old because of the grace of Christ, the Redeemer, and of the charity of the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete. Cf. Rentschka, 108. Cf. Ch. 4, N. 3.

29. **servili iugo premerentur: servili iugo:** cf. Galat. 5, 1, *state, et nolite iterum iugo servitutis contineri. Iugum servitutis* is a Hebraism for *servile iugum.* **iugo premerentur:** cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10, 78, *arva aliena iugo premere atque avertere praedas;* also Aug. *Op. imp. contra Iul.* 1, 2, 13; *Enarr. in Ps.* 18, 1, 8.

30. **observationibus:** in the meaning of 'ordinances,' 'regulations,' is p. c. Cf. 1 *Machab.* 12, 11, *nos ergo in omni tempore sine intermissione in diebus solemnibus . . . memores sumus vestri in sacrificiis quae offerimus, et in observationibus.*

31. **ad fructum salutis:** cf. Eccl. 1, 22, *corona sapientiae timor Domini, replens pacem et salutis fructum.*

32. **multa itaque et varia signa:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *De Or.* 2, 214, *multa et varia et copiosa oratione.*

32ª. **longum est:** a favorite expression of Cicero's. Cf. *De Nat. Deor.* 1, 19; 1, 30; 2, 159. For the use of the indicative here, cf. Ch. 17, N. 15ª.

33. **temporaliter:** p. c. Cf. Tert. *Adv. Iud.* 2.

34. **imaginem:** for the use of *imago* here, cf. Aug. *Serm.* 201, *illa enim omnia quae recitantur, typus erant et imago futurorum.*

35. **Ierusalem . . . famosissima civitas dei:** the superlative form *famosissimus* is p. c. Cf. Spart. *Vita Hadr.* 15. For the expression, *famosissima civitas,* cf. Tac. *Hist.* 5, 2, *sed quoniam famosae urbis (Ierusalem) supremum diem traditurі sumus.* For the Scripture reference, cf. Hebr. 12, 22, *sed accessistis ad Sion montem, et civitatem dei viventis, Ierusalem caelestem;* Apoc. 3, 12, *et scribam super eum nomen dei mei, et nomen civitatis dei mei novae Ierusalem.*

36. **serviens in signo liberae civitatis:** the earthly Jerusalem in bondage is a figure of the heavenly Jerusalem, which is free. Cf. Galat. 4, 24, *haec enim sunt duo testamenta. Unum quidem in monte Sina, in servitutem generans: quae est Agar: Sina enim mons est in Arabia, qui coniunctus est ei, quae nunc est Ierusalem, et servit cum filius suis. Illa autem, quae sursum est Ierusalem, libera est, quae est mater nostra.*

37. **Ierusalem . . . quod verbum est Hebraeum:** Augustine knew very little Hebrew. Cf. Clausen, 10; Odilo Rottmanner, *Zur Sprachenkenntnis des hl. Augustinus,* in *T. T. Q.* 12 (1895), 269 (*Geistesfrüchte,* p. 61); Becker, 138. He would seem to have had some sort of dictionary of Hebrew proper names. Cf. Montgomery, 190.

38. **interpretatur:** the deponent is here used passively. This use is restricted in Cicero to the perfect participle; cf. *De Div.* 1, 53. *Interpretari* is always used passively by Jerome.

39. **visio pacis:** modern investigation seems to be in favor of this interpretation. Cf. Hasting's *D. B.* s. v. Cf. Aug. *in Ps.* 50,

22, *interpretatur enim Sion speculatio, et Ierusalem visio pacis;* Athanas. *in Ps.* 64, 2, Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἑρμηνεύεται ὅρασις εἰρήνης. Cf. the first line of that fine old hymn: *Urbs beata Ierusalem dicta pacis visio.*

40. **cuius cives sunt omnes sanctificati homines qui fuerunt, et qui sunt, et qui futuri sunt . . . quicumque in excelsis caelorum partibus . . . nec imitantur impiam diaboli superbiam:** the *civitas caelestis* is composed not only of the blessed in heaven but also of the good who are still pilgrims upon earth. Cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei* 19, 17, *civitas autem caelestis vel potius pars eius, quae in hac mortalitate peregrinatur et vivit ex fide. . . .* **in excelsis caelorum partibus:** in ecclesiastical Latin the plural *caeli,* which is a Hebraism, occurs rather frequently. Cf. N. W. 1, 624; K. S. 1, 249. For the expression, cf. Deut. 26, 15, *de excelso caelorum habitaculo.* Augustine is fond of contrasting the pride of the devil with the humility of Christ. The citizens of the earthly city imitate the pride of the devil; the citizens of the city of God, the humility of Christ. Cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei* 9, 20, *contra superbiam porro daemonum, qua pro meritis possidebatur genus humanum, Dei humilitas, quae in Christo apparuit. . . .*

41. **verbum dei:** for this appellation, cf. Apoc. 19, 13, *et vocatur nomen eius, verbum dei.*

42. **quo:** where we might have expected the ablative of personal agent: *a quo.* But, most probably, Augustine regarded *verbum* as abstract rather than personal; hence the ablative without the preposition. Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2, 2, 4, *numen . . . quo haec regantur.*

43. **hominem assumens:** *homo* = 'human nature,' 'humanity.' In p. c. Latin the concrete is sometimes used for the abstract. Cf. Min. Fel. *Oct.* 21, 9, *optant in homine perseverare;* id. 23, 7, *Hercules ut hominem exuat Aetnaeis ignibus concrematur.* Cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei* 11, 2, *deus dei filius, homine assumpto, non deo consumpto, eandem constituit fidem;* id. *Serm.* 80, 5, *idem enim deus, idem homo . . . homo assumptus, ut in melius mutaremur;* Leo Mag. *Ep.* 8, 2, *verum hominem accepit Christus;* cf. the *Te Deum: tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem.* The same usage prevails in Patristic Greek. Cf. Greg. Nyss. *Or. Cat.* 16, ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀναληφθέντι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπῳ; Newman, *Tracts theological and*

ecclesiastical, p. 333. This abstract use of *homo* = *humanitas* is not to be confused with the classical use of *homo* in the meaning of *humanus.* Cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 2, 10, 40, *nox te . . . expolivit hominemque reddidit;* Cic. *Ad Att.* 4, 15, 2, *si vis homo esse.* For another example of the use of the concrete for the abstract, cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei,* 10, 29, *suscipiensque mortalem* (= *mortalitatem*).

44. **eo:** cf. N. 42 above.

45. **praefigurationem:** p. c. Cf. Hier. *Ep.* 53, 8, *evangelicae legis praefiguratio.*

46. **de cuius semine secundum carnem:** cf. Rom. 1, 3, *qui factus est ei ex semine David, secundum carnem;* Galat. 4, 23-26.

47. **quae in sanctis libris paulatim discere poteris:** Book IV of *De Doctrina Christiana,* completed shortly before Augustine's death, treats of the method and spirit in which the sense of Scripture should be taught. It supplements the more special "pedagogics" of the present treatise.

CHAPTER 21.

(37, 38) *The Israelites are carried away captive from Jerusalem, the city of the just, to Babylon, the city of the wicked. This captivity is a figure of the subjection of the Church to the kings of this world. The temple is rebuilt, and peace is restored to the Jews: a temporal, not a permanent peace.*

1. **captivata est illa civitas:** cf. 4 Reg. 24, 10, *in tempore illo ascenderunt servi Nabuchodonosor, regis Babylonis, in Ierusalem et circumdata est urbs munitionibus . . . et transtulit omnem Ierusalem.*

1ª. **multa pars:** = *magna pars.* Cf. Cic. *Pro Balb.* 8, 21, *magna pars in iis civitatibus. Multa pars* is poetical and post-classical. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3, 30, 6, *multaque pars mei;* Ov. *Am.* 1, 15, 41, *parsque mei multa superstes erit.* There is a tendency in p. c. Latin to use *multus* in the meaning of *magnus.* Cf. K. S. 1, 110.

2. **civitatem societatemque:** a sort of hendiadys. Cf. Cic. *In Verr.* 3, 13, *quid est civitas nisi iuris societas.* With this descrip-

tion of the two communities, cf. Tyconius, *In Apoc.* (Hahn, p. 25, Anm.), *Babylonem, civitatem impiam . . . diaboli congregationem dicit;* (Hahn, p. 84, Anm. 3), *Ierusalem, quae est ecclesia dei vivi.* Cf. Aug. *In Ps.* 86 *Enarr.* 6, *quomodo una civitas sancta, Ierusalem, una civitas iniqua, Babylon; omnes iniqui ad Babyloniam pertinent, quomodo omnes sancti ad Ierusalem.*

3. **Babylonia . . . dicitur interpretari confusio:** according to Gen. 11, 9, *et idcirco vocatum est nomen eius Babel, quia ibi confusum est labium universae terrae,* Babylonia is derived from the Hebrew *Bālal.* The common opinion today is that it is derived from the Babylonian *bab-ilu* = gate of God. Note that Augustine does not give this etymology on his own authority: *dicitur interpretari confusio.* This is his usual practice when dealing with Hebrew names. Cf. *Ep. ad Ianuarium* 55, *Iericho appellatur, quae in Hebraeo eloquio luna interpretari dicitur; De Civ. Dei* 16, 4, *Babylon quippe interpretatur confusio;* 16, 10; 16, 11; 16, 17; 17, 16. Cf. Ch. 20, N. 37.

4. **captivitas:** = *'captivi.'* For the abstract *captivitas* instead of the concrete, cf. Tac. *Ann.* 11, 23, *an parum quod Veneti et Insubres curiam inruperint, nisi coetus alienigenarum velut captivitas inferatur* and Furneaux's note; id. 13, 25, *in modum captivitatis* (= *in modum urbis captae*).

5. **Ieremiam:** cf. Ier. 27, 1, *in principio regni Ioachim, filii Iosiae, regis Iuda, factum est verbum istud ad Ieremiam a Domino, dicens: Haec dicit Dominus ad me: fac tibi vincula et catenas, et pones eas in collo tuo.*

5ª **sub quibus illi serviebant . . . ex eorum occasione:** *sub quibus illi serviebant* = *apud quos illi serviebant* or *quibus illi serviebant.* Cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 1, 40, 182, *si quis apud nos servisset.* Augustine employs the preposition *sub* with *servire* by analogy with such expressions as *sub rege esse, sub dicione atque imperio alicuius esse,* etc. **ex eorum occasione:** *eorum* is here an objective genitive. I have not been able to find any other examples of this use of *occasio* with pronouns. For the use of *occasio* with substantives in the genitive, cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1, 60, *occasione civilium armorum atrocius proruperat.* Professor Souter furnishes the following example from Aug. *De Civ. Dei,* 7, 33, *sub defunctarum*

occasionibus vel creaturarum specie mundanarum, etc.; cf. also Hier. *Comment. in Matth.* 2, 15, *sub occasione templi et Dei.*

6. **creaturam:** = 'creation.' Cf. Ch. 18, N. 7.

7. **orare:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'to pray to God.' Cf. Löfstedt, 40.

8. **et in eorum pace pacem sperare:** cf. Ier. 29, 7, *in pace illius erit pax vobis.*

9. **ab illa captivitate liberatio:** = *illius captivitatis liberatio.* P. c. Latin frequently uses a preposition with the ablative where classical Latin would use an objective genitive. Cf. Cic. *De Fin.* 1, 11, 37, *cum privamur dolore, ipsa liberatione et vacuitate omnis molestiae gaudemus.* Cf. Ier. 25, 12, *cumque impleti fuerint septuaginta anni, visitabo super regem Babylonis . . . iniquitatem eorum.* According to many writers, the actual captivity lasted only 49 years.

10. **figurate:** p. c. = *per figuram.* Cf. K. S. 1, 592.

11. **dicit . . . ut . . . subdita sit:** *dicit* here = *iubet, praecipit;* hence the subjunctive introduced by *ut.*

12. **omnis anima,** etc.: cf. Rom. 13, 1, *omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit;* ibid. 13, 7, *reddite ergo omnibus debita: cui tributum, tributum: cui vectigal, vectigal.*

12ª. **salvo dei nostri cultu:** Christians must obey their temporal rulers except where what is ordered is contrary to the Divine law. Cf. Aug. *De lib. Arb.* 1, 6, 14; *In Ioann. Ev.* 1, 6, 25; *Enarr. in Ps.* 118; 55; *Ep.* 105, 2, 7. Cf. Schilling, pp. 76-82.

13. **sanae doctrinae:** for the expression, cf. 1 Tim. 1, 10, *et si quid aliud sanae doctrinae adversatur.*

14. **tributum,** etc.: cf. Matth. 17, 27, *invenies staterem: illum sumens, da eis pro me et te.* According to Exod. 30, 13, every Jew was to pay a temple tax of half a shekel (= 2 Attic drachmae). The stater was equivalent to 4 drachmae, which would be the exact temple tax for two persons.

15. **iubentur . . . servi Christiani,** etc.: cf. Col. 3, 22, *servi, obedite per omnia dominis carnalibus, non ad oculum servientes, quasi hominibus placentes; sed in simplicitate cordis vestri;* Eph. 6, 5.

16. **aequanimiter:** p. c. Cf. Tert. *De Pat.* 8, 9.

17. **quos iudicaturi sunt:** cf. 1 Cor. 6, 2, *an nescitis quoniam sancti de hoc mundo iudicabunt?;* Sap. 3, 8, *iudicabunt nationes et dominabuntur populis.*

18. **quo usque ab istius saeculi confusione . . . liberetur:** *quo usque* = *donec* or *quoad.* Cf. S. S. 579, 344. Note the preposition *ab* with a verb of separation. Cf. Ch. 19, N. 36. Babylon, the 'city of confusion,' typifies the 'confusion' of this world, as Jerusalem typifies the peace of eternal life.

19. **terreni reges desertis idolis . . . unum verum deum . . . cognoverunt et colunt:** Augustine is referring to such emperors as Constantine, who embraced Christianity. Zeal for God's worship is one of the characteristics of the ideal ruler. Cf. Augustine's "mirror of princes" in *De Civ. Dei* 5, 24, *sed felices eos dicimus . . . si suam potestatem ad Dei cultum maxime dilatandum maiestati eius famulam faciunt; si Deum timent, diligunt, colunt;* H. Tiralla, *Das augustinische Idealbild der christlichen Obrigkeit* (Diss. Greifswald, 1916); Schilling, 82. For the expression *terreni reges,* cf. Matth. 17, 25, *reges terrae.* **idolis:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of "the idols of the pagans." Cf. Act. 21, 25, *iudicantes ut abstineant se ab idolis;* Tert. *De Idol.* 1.

20. **orari:** *orari* may be construed as the impersonal passive infinitive ('for whom the Apostle orders prayers') or we may supply *nos,* which is often understood with *iubere* (cf. Lane, 2199), and treat *orari* as a deponent verb. As an example of the deponent use of this verb, Löfstedt, 215, quotes *Didasc. Apost.* 56, 33, *postea dicant, in quibus horis aut diebus observant, ne orentur aut eucharistiam percipiant. Orari* in the sense of *precari* is p. c., just as *oratio* is p. c. in the meaning of *preces.* Cf. Hier. *Ep.* 140, 4, *oratio iuxta grammaticos omnes sermo loquentium est; in scripturis autem sanctis difficile orationem iuxta hunc sensum legimus: sed eam, quae ad preces et obsecrationem pertinet.* On the Christian practice of praying for those in authority, cf. Tert. *Apol.* 39, *oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum et potestatibus;* Arnob. 4, 36, *nam nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari . . . in quibus summus oratur deus, pax cunctis et venia postulatur magistratibus exercitibus regibus familiaribus inimicis;* Iustin. *Apol.* 1, 14, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐχόμενοι. For other

references, cf. Mayor's note on Tert. *Apol.* 39, *oramus.* The custom of praying for the prosperity of the Roman Emperor and Empire can be traced back to the earliest times. It was based on the belief that the preservation and well-being of the Church depended on the strength and safety of the Empire. Augustine insists on this point because the Donatists instead of promoting good relations were forever fomenting trouble between Church and State. Cf. Optat. Milev. 3, 3, *sic enim docet beatus apostolus Paulus: rogate pro regibus et potestatibus, ut quietam et tranquillam vitam cum ipsis agamus, non enim respublica est in ecclesia, sed ecclesia in republica, id est in imperio Romano . . . merito Paulus docet orandum esse pro regibus et potestatibus, etiamsi talis imperator esset, qui gentiliter viveret.*

21. **obsecro itaque primum fieri deprecationes, adorationes, interpellationes, gratiarum actiones:** the reading of both the Old Latin version and the Vulgate (1 Tim. 2, 1) is, *obsecrationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones.* Augustine defends his reading in *Ep. ad Paulinum,* 149, 12, *illa plane difficillime discernuntur, ubi ad Timotheum scribens ait, obsecro itaque primum omnium fieri obsecrationes, orationes, interpellationes, gratiarum actiones. Secundum Graecum enim eloquium discernenda sunt: nam nostri interpretes vix reperiuntur, qui ea diligenter et scienter transferre curaverint. Ecce enim sicut ea ipse posuisti, obsecro fieri obsecrationes, non eodem verbo utrumque dixit Apostolus, qui utique Graece illam scripsit epistolam; sed pro eo quod in Latino est obsecro ille Graece dixit,* παρακαλῶ. *Pro eo vero quod Latinus vester habet, obsecrationes, ille posuit* δεήσεις. *Proinde alii codices, in quibus et nostri sunt, non habent obsecrationes; sed deprecationes. Tria porro quae sequuntur, orationes, interpellationes, gratiarum actiones, plerique Latini codices sic habent.* He then proceeds to defend the readings *adorationes* and *interpellationes,* and concludes by saying that St. Paul's order is supplications (*deprecationes*), prayers (*adorationes*), intercessions (*interpellationes*), and thanksgivings (*gratiarum actiones*). **gratiarum actiones:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *ad Fam.* 10, 19, 1, *quamquam gratiarum actiones a te non desiderabam.*

21ª. **caritate:** though both the Vulgate and the Old Latin version of 1 Tim. 2, 2, read *castitate,* I prefer to follow the Benedic-

tine editors here who read *caritate*. In all his other works, Augustine, when quoting this text, has *caritate*. Sabatier cites but one exception, *Ep.* 149, which reads *castitate*.

22. **data pax est ecclesiae, quamvis temporalis:** 'peace was granted to the church, albeit temporal.' Augustine here distinguishes between the peace of this world and the true peace of eternal life. Cf. *De Civ. Dei*, 19, 11, *sed quoniam pacis nomen etiam in his rebus mortalibus frequentatur, ubi utique non est vita aeterna. . .* ; ibid. 19, 26, *hanc autem (pacem) ut interim habeat in hac vita, etiam nostri interest; quoniam, quamdiu permixtae sunt ambae civitates, utimur et nos pace Babylonis; ex qua ita per fidem populus Dei liberatur, ut apud hanc interim peregrinetur. Propter quod et apostolus admonuit ecclesiam, ut oraret pro regibus eius atque sublimibus, addens et dicens: Ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus cum omni pietate et caritate; et propheta Hieremias, cum populo Dei veteri praenuntiaret captivitatem et divinitus imperaret, ut oboedienter irent in Babyloniam Deo suo etiam ista patientia servientes, monuit et ipse ut oraretur pro illa dicens: quia in eius est pace pax vestra, utique interim temporalis, quae bonis malisque communis est.* **quamvis temporalis:** = *quamquam temporalis*. In Ciceronian Latin *quamvis* is found only with an adjective in the signification, 'though ever so' (cf. Cic. *ad Fam.* 2, 16, *si hoc onere carerem, quamvis parvis Italiae latebris contentus essem*). Beginning with Quintilian, however, the particle *quamquam* is used with adjectives and participles in the meaning, as above, of 'albeit,' 'although' (cf. *Inst. orat.* 9, 2, 53, *Cicero immanitatem parricidi, quamquam per se manifestam . . . exaggerat*). The reference in this passage is to Constantine and his successors. Cf. Schilling, *Die Religionspolitik der christlichen Kaiser*, in *Die Staats- und Soziallehre des hl. Augustinus*, pp. 8-17.

23. **ad aedificandas spiritaliter domos**, etc.: cf. Ier. 29, 5, *aedificate domos, et habitate, et plantate hortos.*

23ª. **per totum orbem terrarum:** *orbis terrae* properly refers to the Roman world, while the more usual *orbis terrarum*, to the whole world so far as known to the Romans. However, as this distinction is so little observed, these expressions may be said to be identical. For the phrase, cf. Cic. *In Verr.* 2, 4, 45, *in toto orbe terrarum.*

24. **cum pace regum Christianorum:** 'with the permission of Christian kings.' The usual construction would be a simple ablative of manner without a preposition: *pace regum Christianorum;* cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 1, 17, 76, *pace horum dixerim;* id. *Tusc.* 5, 5, 12, *pace tua dixerim.* See Madvig, § 257, obs. 5; Roby, § 1540. For a similar construction in Augustine, cf. *De Bap. contra Donatistas,* 3, 10, 14, *universae Ecclesiae cum longe pluribus episcopis toto orbe diffusae auctoritatem non dubitamus cum ipsius Cypriani pace praeponere,* where it evidently means 'with the permission of Cyprian himself.'

25. **dei agricultura, dei aedificatio estis:** the Vulgate version of 1 Cor. 3, 9, reads, *dei agricultura estis, dei aedificatio estis;* the Greek, *θεοῦ γεώργιον, θεοῦ οἰκοδομή ἐστε.* The Old Latin version, like the Greek, omits the first *estis,* reading *dei cultura, dei aedificatio estis.* Note that Augustine, following the Greek and the Old Latin version, omits the first *estis.* Inasmuch as in his text Augustine follows the Vulgate reading *agricultura* instead of the Old Latin reading *cultura,* he would seem to have quoted from the Vulgate version and to have deliberately omitted the first *estis.* Robertson and Plummer, in their note on 1 Cor. 3, 9, observe, "Augustine (*De cat. Rud.* 21) rightly omits the first *estis.*"

25ª. **Ieremias:** cf. Ier. 25, 12, *cumque impleti fuerint septuaginta anni, visitabo super regem Babylonis, et super gentem illam, dicit Dominus, iniquitatem eorum, et super terram Chaldaeorum; et ponam illam in solitudines sempiternas;* id. 29, 5.

26. **aedificationis:** here to be taken concretely = 'building,' 'edifice.' This use is classical. Cf. Cic. *ad Fam.* 5, 6, *domum tuam et aedificationem omnem perspexi.* In 536 B. C. Cyrus, king of Persia, gave the Jews permission to return from exile and rebuild the temple (1 Esdr. 1, 1-4). Two years later the foundations for the second temple or, as it is usually called, Zorobabel's temple, were laid. Owing to difficulties with the Samaritans and other neighboring peoples, it was not completed until 514 B. C.

27. **sed quia totum figurate agebatur, non erat firma pax ac libertas reddita Iudaeis:** *totum = omnia.* Cf. Ch. 2, N. 4. In 458 B. C., under Artaxerxes I, the political and religious restoration of Judea was brought about by Esdras, its governor. In 332 B. C.

Alexander the Great marched against Jerusalem, but was prevailed upon to spare it. After his death the Jews were in constant turmoil, owing to the struggle between the Seleucids of Syria and the Ptolemies of Egypt. In 170 B. C. Antiochus Epiphanes took Jerusalem and plundered it (1 Mac. 1, 17-25; 2 Mac. 5, 11-23). Judas Machabeus, after defeating the Syrians (164 B. C.), entered into an alliance with the Romans (1 Mac. 8). The period from 164 B. C. to 64 B. C. is taken up with constant struggles against the Syrians and finally with civil war between Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus.

28. **a Romanis victi sunt, et tributarii facti:** in 65 B. C., by virtue of the alliance with Rome, Pompey came from Damascus to Jerusalem to put an end to the civil war. After a siege of three months he finally captured the city, made Hyrcanus high-priest, and declared Jerusalem a tributary of Rome. Cf. Josephus, *Antiq. Iud.* 14, 4, 1; *Bell. Iud.* 1, 7, 1.

29. **ex illo sane tempore ex quo:** pleonastic and emphatic for *ex quo tempore* or *ex eo tempore quo. Illo* = *eo, ille* being frequently used instead of *is* in p. c. Latin. Cf. S. S. 621, 18.

30. **per multas prophetias prophetatus est:** figure of etymology. For examples of this figure in Scripture, cf. Ier. 2, 8, *et prophetae prophetaverunt in Baal;* id. 37, 18, *prophetae vestri qui prophetabant vobis.*

31. **psalmorum:** the Psalms of David.

32. **pressuras:** p. c. as here in its metaphorical meaning of 'tribulation,' 'distress.' *Pressurae* is the usual translation of the Old Latin version for θλίψεις (cf. Ps. 33, 20). The Vulgate translates θλίψεις sometimes by *pressurae,* sometimes by *tribulationes.*

33. **a regibus . . . perpessi sunt:** for the construction, cf. Ch. 17, N. 32.

34. **pro liberatione:** = *in liberationem. Pro* final is p. c. Cf. S. S. 410, 141; Friebel, 43.

CHAPTER 22.

(39, 40) *The five ages of the world. With the coming of Christ the sixth age begins, in which through the Holy Spirit the mind of man is renewed in the image of God, and the law is fulfilled out of love of God.*

1. **peractis ergo quinque aetatibus saeculi:** this passage is badly confused and could never have been revised by Augustine. The clause to which this ablative absolute refers is in the third sentence below: *ex cuius adventu sexta aetas agitur.* For the division of all history into six epochs, cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei* 22, 30, *ipse etiam numerus aetatum, veluti dierum, si secundum eos articulos temporis conputetur, qui scripturis videntur expressi, iste sabbatismus evidentius apparebit, quoniam septimus invenitur, ut prima aetas tamquam primus dies sit ab Adam usque ad diluvium, secunda inde usque ad Abraham, non aequalitate temporum, sed numero generationum; denas quippe habere reperiuntur. Hinc iam, sicut Matthaeus evangelista determinat, tres aetates usque ad Christi subsequuntur adventum, quae singulae denis et quaternis generationibus explicantur: ab Abraham usque ad David una, altera inde usque ad transmigrationem in Babyloniam, tertia inde usque ad Christi carnalem nativitatem. Fiunt itaque omnes quinque. Sexta nunc agitur nullo generationum numero metienda propter id quod dictum est: Non est vestrum scire tempora, quae pater posuit in sua potestate. Post hanc tamquam in die septimo requiescet Deus, cum eundem diem septimum, quod nos erimus, in se ipso Deo faciet requiescere;* cf. also *De Trin.* 4, 7; *Quaest. in Heptateuch.* 7, 49; *Serm.* 259, 2; *Enarr. in Ps.* 92, 1; *In Ioann. Ev.* c. 2, *Tract.* 9, 6; *In Ioan. Ev.* c. 4, *Tract.* 15, 9.

1ª. **Abraham:** cf. Galat. 3, 7, *cognoscite ergo quia qui ex fide sunt, ii sunt filii Abrahae.*

2. **ante fidem Christianam gentium:** pregnant for *antequam gentes fidem Christianam accepissent.* Cf. Ch. 17, N. 6.

3. **unus . . . unum verum deum coluit:** note figure of antanaclasis in which a word is used in two different meanings in the same clause: *unus* meaning 'alone' and *unum,* meaning 'one.'

verum: here used in its Scriptural meaning of 'true God,' as distinguished from false gods.

4. **omnes omnium:** for the construction, cf. Ch. 8, N. 26.

4ª. **evangelio:** cf. Matth. 1, 17.

5. **transmigratione:** p. c. Cf. Matth. 1, 11, *in transmigratione.*

6. **sexta aetas agitur:** according to the Millenarian doctrine held by Augustine at this time, but later abandoned, there have been from the Creation to the coming of Christ five *millennia* or week-days of history. The period of time that has elapsed since the coming of Christ constitutes the sixth *aetas.* According to Augustine, the duration of this sixth epoch is uncertain. Cf. *De Div. Quaest.* 83, 58, *aetas ultima generis humani, quae incipit a Domini adventu, usque in finem saeculi quibus generationibus computetur incertum est; De Gen. c. Man.* 1, 42, *sexta aetas nullo generationum numero definita est; Serm.* 259, *ab adventu domini sextus agitur in sexto die sumus;* cf. *Martyrologium Romanum* for December 25, *sexta mundi aetate Iesus Christus . . . natus est.*

7. **hac sexta aetate . . . sexta die:** *sexta die* may be a copyist's mistake for *sexto die,* caused by confusing the *sexto* of *die* with the *sexta* of *aetate.* As a rule, Augustine follows the classical usage of making *dies* feminine in the ablative, only when it means 'an appointed day' or 'time.' Cf. *Serm.* 259, *in sexto die sumus; Conf.* 8, 6, 14, *quodam igitur die, De cat. Rud.* Ch. 23, S. 41, *ex ipso ergo die . . . quinquagesimo die.* There is, of course, a tendency in p. c. Latin to make *dies* feminine much more frequently than in classical Latin. Cf. Apostles' Creed, *tertia die resurrexit a mortuis;* the *Paschal Hymn, Haec Dies quam fecit Dominus.* Butler in his note on Apul. *Apol.* 2, 17, *postera die,* observes that in Apuleius *dies* is nearly always feminine when in the ablative case giving a date, as *hesterna die, quadam die,* etc. Note how Augustine allegorizes on the sixth day of creation and the sixth age of the world. Cf. Aug. *De Gen. c. Manichaeos* 1, 35, *Sed quare septimo die requies ista tribuatur, diligentius considerandum arbitror. Video enim per totum textum divinarum Scripturarum sex quasdam aetates operosas, certis quasi limitibus suis esse distinctas, ut in septima speretur requies; et easdem sex aetates habere similitudinem istorum sex dierum, in quibus ea facta sunt*

quae Deum fecisse Scriptura commemorat; cf. *Contra Faustum* 12, 8, *sex diebus in Genesi consummavit Deus omnia opera sua, et septimo requievit. Sex aetatibus humanum genus hoc saeculo per successiones temporum, Dei opera insigniunt: quarum prima est ab Adam usque ad Noe; secunda, a Noe usque ad Abraham; tertia ab Abraham usque ad David; quarta, a David usque ad transmigrationem in Babyloniam; quinta, inde usque ad humilem adventum Domini nostri Iesu Christi; sexta quae nunc agitur, donec Excelsus veniat ad iudicium; septima vero intelligitur in requie sanctorum. . . . Sexto die in Genesi formatur homo ad imaginem Dei: sexta aetate saeculi manifestatur reformatio nostra in novitate mentis, secundum imaginem eius qui creavit nos;* Hier. *Ep.* 140, *ego arbitror ex epistola, quae nomine Petri Apostoli inscribitur, mille annos pro una die solitos appellari, ut quia mundus in sex diebus fabricatus est, sex millibus annorum tantum credatur subsistere et postea venire septenarium numerum et octonarium, in quo verus exercetur sabbatismus.*

7ª. **iustissimum et misericordissimum deum:** cf. Ps. 111, 4, *misericors et miserator et iustus.*

7ᵇ. **qui prior,** etc.: cf. 1 Ioan. 4, 19, *quoniam Deus prior dilexit nos.*

7ᶜ. **unicum filium:** cf. 1 Ioan. 4, 9, *in hoc apparuit caritas Dei in nobis, quoniam Filium suum unigenitum misit.*

8. **hominis assumtione:** *homo* here = 'human nature,' 'humanity.' Cf. Ch. 20, N. 3. For the thought, cf. the Athanasian Creed, 33, *unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carnem; sed assumtione humanitatis in deum.*

9. **cum eis . . . pro eis et ab eis:** figure of polyptoton.

10. **novum testamentum haereditatis sempiternae manifestans, in quo renovatus homo per gratiam dei ageret novam vitam:** the New Testament typifies the new life of grace. For the allusion in *novum testamentum haereditatis sempiternae,* cf. Hebr. 9, 15, *et ideo novi testamenti mediator est; ut morte intercedente, in redemptionem earum praevaricationum, quae erant sub priori testamento, repromissionem accipiant, qui vocati sunt, aeternae haereditatis.* **novam vitam:** cf. Rom. 6, 4, *consepulti enim sumus per baptismum in mortem, ut quomodo Christus surrexit a mortuis per*

gloriam patris, ita et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus. Note the Pauline phraseology throughout this passage. St. Paul was Augustine's favorite guide and teacher. They had much in common; both had been converted from a life of sin to a life of grace. It was the reading of Rom. 14, 4 that had decided Augustine to break with the old life of sin, and embrace the new life of grace. Paul and Augustine are both monuments of the saving grace of the new dispensation.

11. **ut vetus ostenderet primum (testamentum), in quo carnalis populus agens veterem hominem:** "and to show that the former testament (the Old Testament) was old (that is, 'antiquated,' 'out-of-date,' 'superseded'), wherein a carnal people living according to the old man," etc. **primum:** = *prius.* In classical Latin *primus* = 'first of many'; *prior,* 'first of two.' *Primus* and *prior* are frequently confused in p. c. Latin. Cf. Aug. *Serm.* 204, 3, *Stephanus prior* (= *primus*) *post resurrectionem domini martyrio coronatur.* Linderbauer, 160, quotes Wölfflin, *Komparation,* 69, to the effect that, while Ioan. 8, 7, πρῶτος τὸν λίθον βαλέτω is translated *primus,* etc. in the Vulgate, MSS. of the Old Latin version vary, some reading *prior,* others, *primus.* For the Scriptural allusion in *ut vetus ostenderet primum,* cf. Heb. 8, 8-13, *et consummabo super domum Israel et super domum Iuda testamentum novum. Non secundum testamentum, quod feci patribus eorum. . . . Dicendo autem novum, veteravit prius. Quod autem antiquatur et senescit, prope interitum est.* Note that the Vulgate reads *prius,* which is likewise the reading of the Old Latin version. **agens veterem hominem:** literally "acting the rôle of the old man." This use of *agere* with the accusative is classical. Cf. Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 7, 20, *nam Ballionem illum improbissimum et periurissimum lenonem cum agit, agit Chaeream;* id. *ad Fam.* 8, 2, 2, *nobilem agere;* 8, 17, 1, *mirificum civem agis;* Liv. 45, 25, 2, *lenem mitemque senatorem agit.* For the Scriptural allusion, cf. Rom. 6, 6, *hoc scientes quia vetus homo noster simul crucifixus est, ut destruatur corpus peccati, et ultra non serviamus peccato.*

12. **intelligentibus:** *intelligere* is here used in its Scriptural meaning of 'to lay to heart,' 'to obey the moral law.' For this meaning, cf. Matth. 13, 19, *qui audit verbum dei, et non intelligit.*

13. **contemsit . . . contemnenda:** note figure of translation.

The passage that follows is, perhaps, the finest in the treatise. It offers a splendid example of what Longinus calls *auxesis* or amplification, whereby the augmented instances rise to a height of great beauty and grandeur.

14. **istis:** = *his*. Cf. Ch. 4, N. 17.

15. **de matre:** = *matre*. Cf. Ch. 17, N. 26.

16. **semperque intacta permanserit:** the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Cf. Leo, *Serm. in Nat.* 2, 2, *et virgo permanserit;* cf. Athanasius, *Or. contra Ar.* 2, 70.

17. **virgo concipiens, virgo pariens, virgo moriens:** for the thought, cf. Aug. *Serm.* 51, 18, *virgo concepit, virgo peperit, virgo permansit; Serm.* 184, 3, *quam virgo ante conceptum, tam virgo post partum; Serm.* 186, 1, *concipiens virgo, pariens virgo, virgo gravida, virgo feta, virgo perpetua; Serm.* 121, 4, *concipit virgo virilis ignara consortii . . . impletur uterus nullo humano pollutus amplexu . . . virgo concipit, virgo gravida, virgo feta, virgo perpetua.* Cf. Dante, *Paradiso* 33, 1, *Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio.* Friedrich, 273, observes: *Vier Momente möchten wir als charakteristische Eigenheiten der augustinischen Mariologie nennen: die Lehre von der Virginitas Mariae in partu, von dem Jungfräulichkeitsgelübde der Mutter Jesu, die Hervorhebung der geistigen Mutterschaft Marias und ihrer Freiheit von jeder persönlichen Sünde;* cf. also S. Protin, *La Mariologie de St. Augustin,* in *R. A.* 1 (1902), 374.

18. **fabro desponsata erat:** cf. Luc. 1, 27, *ad virginem desponsatam viro, cui nomen erat Ioseph, de domo David, et nomen virginis Maria.*

18ª. **civitate . . . exigua:** for the expression, cf. Caes. *B. G.* 7, 17, *exigua et infima civitas.*

19. **Bethleem:** the spelling of the Old Latin Version, which follows the Septuagint: Βηθλεεμ. The Vulgate retains the Hebrew form: Bethlehem. Cf. Mich. 5, 2, *et tu Bethlehem Ephrata, parvulus es in millibus Iuda.*

20. **hodieque:** according to K. S. 2, 654, S. S. 496, 240, Anmerk., *hodieque* in the copulative sense of 'even today' is Ciceronian. Reid, however, in his note on *Acad.* 2, 3, denies that *hodieque*

is Ciceronian. He maintains that in the passages cited from *De Or.* 1, 103 and *In Verr.* 5, 64, the *-que* connects clauses, and so does not modify *hodie.* We find *hodieque,* however, in the meaning of 'even today' in Tacitus, *Germ.* 3, *quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur.*

21. **villa:** in classical Latin meant a 'country-house,' 'farm,' 'villa.' In p. c. Latin it came to mean 'a village.' Dirksen, s. v. gives a fragment: *non solum in oppidis, sed et in villis et in vicis.* F. C. Burkitt, *Notes and Studies,* in *J. Th. S.* 11 (1909), 449, discussing Augustine's use of words, writes, "Furthermore I venture to think that St. Augustine is not a man in whom we should expect to find any extraordinary measure of verbal accuracy or consistency. He was far indeed from being a pedant, and was much more concerned with the meanings of words than their sounds . . . he equates *villa, castellum,* and *municipium* (*De Consensu Evang.* 3, 71)."

22. **pauper etiam factus est:** cf. 2 Cor. 8, 9, *scitis enim gratiam Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quoniam propter vos egenus factus est.*

23. **per quem creata sunt omnia:** cf. Col. 1, 16, *omnia per ipsum et in ipso creata sunt.*

24. **noluit rex ab hominibus fieri:** cf. Ioan. 18, 36, *regnum meum non est de hoc mundo.*

25. **humilitatis ostendebat viam:** Augustine is always insisting on the humility of Christ. Cf. *De Doctr. Christ.* 1, 13, *in explicando et dicendo ut quoque modo humilitatem Christi loqueremur, non sufficimus, immo deficimus.*

26. **sempiternum eius regnum:** for the expression, cf. Dan. 7, 27, *cuius regnum sempiternum est.*

27. **esurivit qui omnes pascit:** the Fathers of the fifth century, following St. Paul (cf. Philip. 2, 7, *sed semetipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens, in similitudinem hominum factus, et habitu inventus ut homo*), laid great stress on the reality of Christ's human feelings. Cf. Athanas. *Contra Ar.* 3, 32, 34; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* 4, 9; Leo Mag. *Serm.* 63, *De Pass. Dom.* 12, 4, *omnes enim infirmitates nostras, quae veniunt de peccato, absque*

peccati communione suscepit, ut famis et sitis, somni et lassitudinis, maeroris ac fletus affectionibus non careret, doloresque saevissimos usque ad mortis extrema pateretur. The humility of the Creator in becoming man was likewise a favorite theme of the Fathers. For the thought, cf. the beautiful lines of Sedulius: *faeno iacere pertulit | praesepe non abhorruit, | parvoque lacte pastus est | per quem nec ales esurit.* Note how skilfully Augustine describes the two natures of Christ by means of antithesis. This use of antithesis was very common in the catecheses of both the Eastern and Western Church. Cf. Probst, *Katechese und Predigt,* 71; *Const. Apost.* 8, 12, 31, *et factus est in utero virginis formator omnium, qui gignuntur; et incarnatus est, qui carnis expers; qui sine tempore genitus, in tempore natus est . . . cibum et potum et somnum cepit, qui cunctos alimento indigentes nutrit . . . cruci affixus, qui pati non potest, mortuus natura immortalis, sepultus vitae effector, ut illos, propter quos advenerat, a passione solveret et a morte eriperet ac diaboli vincula rumperet illiusque ex fallacia liberaret homines.* **esurivit:** cf. Marc. 11, 12, *et alia die cum exirent a Bethania, esuriit;* Matth. 25, 35, *esurivi enim, et dedistis mihi manducare: sitivi, et dedistis mihi bibere.*

28. **panis est esurientium:** note the use of Scriptural metaphor and imagery in this passage. Cf. Ezech. 18, 7, *panem suum esurienti dederit;* Ioan. 6, 51, *ego sum panis vivus, qui de caelo descendi.*

29. **fonsque sitientium:** cf. Apoc. 21, 6, *ego sitienti dabo de fonte aquae vitae;* Ioan. 4, 14, *qui autem biberit ex aqua, quam ego dabo ei, non sitiet in aeternum.*

30. **ab itinere . . . fatigatus est:** note the use of the otiose preposition *ab.* Cf. Ch. 19, N. 39. Cf. Ioan. 4, 6, *Iesus ergo fatigatus ex itinere, sedebat sic supra fontem.* The Old Latin version reads, *ab itinere.*

31. **qui se ipsum nobis viam fecit in caelum:** a favorite phrase of Augustine's; cf. *De Doctr. Christ.* 1, 11, *cum deus ipse sit patria, viam se quoque nobis fecit ad patriam;* cf. *De Util. Cred.* 15, 33, *cum sapientia ipsa sit patria, viam se quoque nobis fecit ad patriam.* The double function of the Incarnation, namely, that Christ as God is the end of our going while Christ as man is the

way we are to go, is succinctly expressed by Augustine in *De Civ. Dei*, 11, 2, *ut idem ipse sit Deus et homo, quo itur Deus, qua itur homo.* For the Scriptural allusion, cf. Ioan. 14, 6, *ego sum via, et veritas et vita.*

32. **obmutuit . . . coram conviciantibus:** cf. Isa. 53, 7, *non aperuit os suum . . . quasi agnus coram tondente se obmutescet, et non aperiet os suum;* Matth. 26, 63, *Iesus autem tacebat.*

33. **per quem mutus locutus est,** etc.: cf. Marc. 7, 37, *surdos fecit audire, et mutos loqui.*

34. **de infirmitatum vinculis solvit:** for the use of the preposition *de* here with a verb of separation, cf. Ch. 19, N. 39; Luc. 5, 15, *et conveniebant turbae multae ut audirent, et curarentur ab infirmitatibus suis.*

35. **flagellatus est:** cf. Isa. 53, 4, *vere languores nostros ipse tulit . . . et livore eius sanati sumus;* Matth. 27, 26, *Iesum autem flagellatum tradidit eis ut crucifigeretur.*

35ª. **finivit:** *finire* in the sense of *'finem facere'* occurs seldom in Cicero or Caesar, but it is frequently found in this meaning from Livy on.

36. **suscitavit:** p. c. Cf. Ioan. 5, 21, *sicut enim Pater suscitat mortuos.*

37. **resurrexit:** in the sense of 'to rise from the dead' is ecclesiastical. Cf. 1 Cor. 15, 4, *et quia resurrexit tertia die;* Tert. *De Resurr. Car.* 1, 1. Throughout this eloquent passage Augustine shows how Christ's life was a *disciplina morum;* the true Christian must pattern his life upon the Master's: *exemplum enim dedi vobis* (Ioan. 13, 15).

38. **numquam moriturus:** cf. Rom. 6, 9, *scientes quod Christus resurgens ex mortuis iam non moritur, mors illi ultra non dominabitur;* 1 Cor. 15, 54, *absorpta est mors in victoria. Ubi est mors victoria tua? Ubi est mors stimulus tuus?*

39. **ne ab illo quisquam sic disceret mortem contemnere, quasi numquam victurus:** *contemnere* here = 'not to fear.' Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 82, *morte enim contempta;* Sen. *Ep.* 70, 9, *quid erat stultius quam mortem contemnere, venenum timere.* Death has no terrors for such as consider death to be the end of all. Cf. Sap.

2, 2, *quia ex nihilo nati sumus, et post hoc erimus tamquam non fuerimus;* 1 Cor. 15, 32, *si (secundum hominem) ad bestias pugnavi Ephesi, quid mihi prodest, si mortui non resurgunt? Manducemus et bibamus; cras enim moriemur.* The Christian, on the other hand, has a salutary fear of death, not on account of death itself but because of the judgment to follow. Cf. Hebr. 9, 27, *et quemadmodum statutum est hominibus semel mori, post hoc autem iudicium;* Min. Fel. *Oct.* 34, *nec ignoro plerosque conscientia meritorum nihil se esse post mortem magis optare quam credere; malunt enim exstingui penitus quam ad supplicia reparari.* The resurrection of Christ from the dead is a pledge of the Christian's resurrection; no one can say, therefore, that he has learnt from Christ to despise death as though destined never to live again.

CHAPTER 23.

(41) *The coming of the Holy Ghost.*
(42) *The conversion of the Jews followed by persecution.*
(43) *The conversion and apostolate of St. Paul.*

1. **conversatus . . . quadraginta diebus:** cf. Act. 1, 3, *per dies quadraginta apparens eis . . . et convescens.* The Old Latin version reads *conversatus.*

2. **eisdem spectantibus:** cf. Act. 1, 9, *et cum haec dixisset, videntibus illis, elevatus est, et nubes suscepit eum ab oculis eorum.*

3. **misit eis spiritum sanctum:** Augustine here shows how, through the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles on the feast of Pentecost, the Decalogue was promulgated a second time; this time however it was a law of love and not, as in the Old Testament, a law of fear. He again emphasizes the important fact that the whole Decalogue may be summed up in the two great commandments of love of God and of our neighbor. Augustine was the first to interpret the Decalogue in its New Testament or Christian sense and to show that it adequately expresses the Christian moral code. Cf. Rentschka, 109.

4. **diffusa caritate:** cf. Rom. 5, 5, *caritas dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum, qui datus est nobis.* This is

one of Augustine's favorite texts; note how frequently it is quoted in this treatise.

5. **sine onere:** cf. 1 Ioan. 5, 3, *haec est enim caritas dei, ut mandata eius custodiamus, et mandata eius gravia non sunt.*

6. **cum iucunditate:** for the phrase, cf. Baruc. 5, 9, *adducet enim deus Israel cum iucunditate.*

7. **in decem praeceptis, quod appellant decalogum:** instead of the relative pronoun *quod* we should expect either *quae* agreeing with the antecedent *praeceptis* or *quem* agreeing with the predicative substantive *decalogum.* If *quod* be retained, then *decalogum* may be considered as neuter or *quod* may refer in a general way to the idea already implied in *praeceptis:* "in the ten commandments—the thing they call the Decalogue." The second hypothesis would seem more probable since the usual form of this word, of course, is the masculine: *decalogus,* and so regularly in Augustine. Cf. Aug. *Serm.* 9, 6, *decalogus enim legis decem praecepta habet.* A neuter form in *-um* is cited by the *T. L. L.* from *Gloss.* s. v. *Decalogus* or *decalogum* is p. c. Cf. Tert. *Anim.* 37. It is a transliteration of the Greek δεκάλογος. Augustine had a fairly thorough knowledge of Greek. Cf. Angus, 236; Becker, 237; S. Salaville, *La connaissance du grec chez Saint Augustin,* in *Échos d'Or,* 25 (1922), 387; Haussleiter, *Augustin und die griechische Sprache,* in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1898), 372; P. Guilloux, *Saint Augustin savait-il le grec?* in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 21 (1925), No. 1.

8. **ad duo rediguntur, ut diligamus deum ex toto corde, ex tota anima, ex tota mente:** note the metaphorical use of the preposition *ex,* which use is common in Biblical Latin. Cf. Matth. 22, 37, *diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo,* etc.

9. **populus . . . celebrarunt:** figure of synesis or construction according to sense. For an interesting article on this figure, cf. E. S. McCartney, *Psychological vs. logical,* in *C. P.* 18 (1923), 300.

10. **ergo:** here resumes the construction broken off by the clause *ex quo.*

10ª. **quinquagesimus dies impletus est:** cf. Exod. 12, 3; 19, 1.

10[b]. **verum pascha:** cf. 1 Cor. 5, 7, *etenim Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus; Roman Missal, Paschal Preface: cum Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est agnus, qui abstulit peccata mundi.*

11. **cum essent unum in locum congregati:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 1, 8, 33, *quae vis alia potuit aut dispersos homines unum in locum congregare.* For the Scripture reference, cf. Act. 2, 1, *et cum complerentur dies Pentecostes, erant omnes pariter in eodem loco.*

12. **factus est subito de caelo sonus, quasi ferretur flatus vehemens:** Augustine in his quotations from the Acts of the Apostles made use of St. Cyprian's version. The Vulgate version of Act. 2, 2, reads *et factus est repente de caelo sonus tamquam advenientis spiritus vehementis;* the Old Latin version reads, *et factus est repente de caelo sonus, velut advenientis spiritus violentis.* St. Cyprian's version, which Augustine quotes at length in *Acta contra Felicem Manichaeum,* reads: *et factus est subito de caelo sonus, quasi ferretur flatus vehemens,* which is identical with Augustine's quotation. Burkitt, 57, observes, ". . . But what I believe has not received sufficient attention is the remarkable extant evidence tending to shew that during S. Augustine's episcopate, from about 400 A. D. onwards, the Church at Hippo read the Gospels from S. Jerome's version, though for the Acts it retained a very pure form of the Old African Latin. The evidence is as follows. In A. D. 404 a Manichee preacher named Felix appeared at Hippo, where he was arrested and brought to trial before the ecclesiastical courts. This trial is reported at length in the tract called *Acta contra Felicem Manichaeum* (or Aug. *Contra Felicem*). The statements of Felix about the coming of the Holy Spirit had been so unsatisfactory that S. Augustine determined to read to him the full Biblical account. Accordingly a codex of the Gospels was handed to him and he read from it to Felix Lc. xxiv, 36-49. Having read these verses he gave back the book of the Gospels and was then handed a codex of the Acts, from which he read the whole of the first chapter and the first eleven verses of the second. What S. Augustine read out is given *in extenso* in our MSS. of Aug. *Contra Felicem,* and an examination of the two passages leads to the surprising result that the passage from S. Luke is pure Vul-

gate, while the text of the Acts is that of S. Cyprian—the very oldest form of the African version known to us. . . . We cannot therefore but conclude that the codex of the Gospels handed to S. Augustine was a Vulgate codex, and the Codex of the Acts was an Old Latin Codex containing an 'African' text—in other words, that by 404 the Gospels were read at Hippo from the Vulgate, while in some other books of the Bible, such as the Acts, the unrevised Old Latin was still publicly used." **factus est . . . sonus:** cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 79, *Fit sonitus; Aen.* 2, 209, *fit sonitus spumante salo;* Aug. *De Doctr. Christ.* 1, 12.

13. **coeperunt linguis loqui:** cf. Act. 2, 4, *et coeperunt loqui variis linguis, prout spiritus sanctus dabat eloqui illis;* Aug. *Serm.* 267, c. 2, *omnes qui aderant unam linguam didicerant. Venit Spiritus Sanctus; impleti sunt, coeperunt loqui linguis variis omnium gentium, quas non noverant nec didicerant.*

14. **omnes:** by *omnes* of Act. 2, 1, Augustine understands the one hundred and twenty disciples, not merely the twelve of the apostolic college. Cf. Aug. *In Ioan. Ev. Tract.* 92, 1, *venit enim die Pentecostes Spiritus Sanctus in centum viginti homines congregatos, in quibus et apostoli omnes erant; Serm.* 267, 1, *duodecim enim elegit, et in centum viginti spiritum misit.*

15. **quisque cognosceret:** we should have expected *cognoscerent,* inasmuch as *quisque* is in a distributive or partitive apposition with *omnes.* Cf. Madvig, 217, obs. 1.

16. **cum tota fiducia:** = *cum omni fiducia.* Cf. Ch. 2, N. 4. For the phrase, cf. Philip. 1, 20, *sed in omni fiducia.*

16ª. **Christum praedicantes:** for the phrase, cf. 1 Cor. 1, 23, *nos autem praedicamus Christum crucifixum.*

17. **multa signa:** cf. Act. 5, 12, *per manus autem apostolorum fiebant signa et prodigia multa.*

18. **ita ut quendam mortuum . . . umbra eius tetigerit, et resurrexerit:** the statement that the shadow of Peter raised a dead man to life is a slip on Augustine's part. Cf. Act. 5, 15, *ita ut in plateas eiicerent infirmos, et ponerent in lectulis ac grabatis, ut, veniente Petro, saltem umbra illius obumbraret quemquam illorum, et liberarentur ab infirmitatibus suis.* This last clause, which Augustine confused, is not found in the Greek text: ὥστε καὶ εἰς τὰς

πλατείας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ τιθέναι ἐπὶ κλιναρίων καὶ κραβάττων, ἵνα ἐρχομένου Πέτρου κἂν ἡ σκιὰ ἐπισκιάσῃ τινὶ αὐτῶν. Augustine does not make this slip when referring to the same passage in *Tract. in Ioan.* 71, 3, *an forte quod aegros, ipsis transeuntibus, etiam eorum umbra sanabat.* F. C. Burkitt, in an article entitled, *St. Augustine's Bible and the Itala,* in *J. Th. S.* 11 (1909), 450, observes, "Nor is there any reason to suppose that St. Augustine never made downright mistakes. He certainly put Barnabas instead of Silas into the prison at Philippi (in Ioan. 113), a reading for which neither the Vulgate nor the Old Latin of Acts 16, 25 is responsible. . . . It is very hard to write a book upon textual subjects without making occasional mistakes." In *Retr.* 2, 4, Augustine's excuse for synchronizing Plato and Jeremiah is *me fefellit memoria.* We know that Augustine was familiar with the apocryphal Acts of Peter (cf. Aug. *Contra Adimantum* 17, 5); in these acts, Ch. 26, 27, 28, three distinct references are made to persons raised from the dead by Peter. It is just possible, therefore, that Augustine confused the account given in the Acts of the Apostles with one of those taken from the apocryphal Acts of Peter (cf. *The Apocryphal New Testament,* newly translated by Montague Rhodes James, Oxford, 1924, pp. 300-336).

19. **per invidiam:** for the expression, cf. Matth. 27, 18, *sciebat enim quod per invidiam tradidissent eum;* Cic. *De Orat.* 3, 3, 11, *depulsus per invidiam.*

19ª. **per errorem:** cf. Act. 3, 17, *et nunc fratres scio quia per ignorantiam fecistis, sicut et principes vestri.*

20. **crucifixerunt:** we should have expected, *crucifixerant,* just as in this same sentence, in a similar construction of action antecedent to a main secondary tense, we read *riserant.* This may be a copyist's error.

21. **praedicatores:** p. c. Cf. 1 Tim. 2, 7, *in quo positus sum ego praedicator et apostolus.*

22. **amplius:** = *magis. Amplius* is employed much more frequently in p. c. than in classical Latin and oftentimes in the sense of *magis.* Cf. Ch. 9, N. 4.

23. **paenitendo:** here used personally. The present participle, gerund, and gerundive of this verb are so used in classical Latin; in p. c. Latin other parts are likewise used personally.

24. **erant . . . desiderantes:** = *desiderabant:* "no longer were they craving," etc. This periphrastic construction was very popular in colloquial Latin, (1) because it was fuller and more sonorous than the simple tense of the verb, (2) because it was more emphatic, bringing out as it does the idea of state, condition or recurring action. It occurs in Plautus. Cf. *Amph.* 132, *cubat complexus, quoius cupiens maxume est;* Lucr. 3, 396, *et magis est animus vitai claustra coercens.* It is used sparingly by Cicero and only where special emphasis is required (cf. Reid's note on *Acad.* 1, 6, 23, *erant congruentes*), or where it has been preceded by a similar clause (cf. Dougan's note on *Tusc.* 2, 1, 4, *est enim philosophia paucis contenta iudicibus, multitudinem consulto ipsa fugiens*). Cf. Goelzer, 389; S. S. 459, 194; Löfstedt, 245.

25. **immortaliter:** p. c. as used here in the meaning of 'in a spiritual, immortal sense' as opposed to *carnaliter.* I have not found this adverb used in this sense elsewhere. It occurs in the *Conf.* 4, 23, *nec si corona illa ita esset immortaliter aurea,* where, however, it means 'perpetually.' In classical Latin, *immortaliter* = 'immeasurably,' 'exceedingly.' Cf. Cic. *Ad Quint. Frat.* 3, 1, 9, *immortaliter gaudeo.*

26. **pro ipsis ab ipsis tanta mortaliter pertulit:** note polyptoton. For the construction *ab ipsis . . . pertulit,* cf. Ch. 17, N. 32. **mortaliter:** p. c. = 'in his body.' This instance is earlier than the two cited in N. W. 2, 699, from Augustine: *Enchir.* 64 and *Tract. in Ioan.* 110. **pertulit:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'to bear the penalty.' Cf. 1 Pet. 2, 24, *qui peccata nostra ipse pertulit in corpore suo super lignum.*

27. **donavit:** in classical Latin, *donare* may mean 'to remit a debt or obligation'; cf. Caes. *B. C.* 3, 21, *mercedes habitationum annuas conductoribus donavit.* In p. c. Latin this use was extended to mean 'the remission, or forgiveness, of sin'; cf. Eph. 4, 32, *donantes invicem sicut et Deus in Christo donavit vobis* (χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς καθὼς καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν); cf. also Col. 3, 13, *sicut et Dominus donavit vobis, ita et vos* (καθὼς ὁ κύριος ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς). Cyprian *Ep.* 30, 7, writes, *donavi tibi omne debitum* when quoting Matth. 18, 32, which in the Vulgate reads: *omne debitum dimisi tibi.* I do not, therefore, quite understand Abbott, when in his commentary on Ephesians 4, 32 (*A critical*

and exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, p. 145) he writes: "The Vulgate has erroneously '*donantes,*' and *Erasmus,* '*largientes,*' but the following context shows that the word must mean 'forgiving'"—and that is exactly what *donantes* does mean! For other instances of this use of *donare* in Augustine, cf. *Conf.* 1, 4, 4, *donans debita;* 2, 7, 15, *donas peccata;* 5, 9, 16, *non enim quicquam eorum mihi donaveras in Christo.* Augustine likewise uses *donator* in the meaning of 'one who pardons'; cf. *Serm.* 216, 5, *simul culpae esse voluit donator et poenae.*

28. **terrena:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'earthly,' 'worldly.' Cf. Phil. 3, 9, *in confusione ipsorum qui terrena sapiunt;* cf. Cypr. *De Zelo et Liv.* 2, *honores terrenos promittit ut caelestes adimat.* Cf. Watson, 287.

29. **mortificantes:** p. c. Another example of a verb compounded from a noun and a verb. Cf. Tert. *De Resurr. Car.* 37, *mortificare est ad mortem dare, morte afficere.*

30. **sicut praeceperat . . . dominus:** cf. Matth. 19, 21, *si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende quae habes, et da pauperibus.*

31. **vendebant omnia** etc.: cf. Act. 4, 34, *vendentes afferebant pretia eorum quae vendebant, et ponebant ante pedes apostolorum.*

32. **non dicebant aliquid suum:** *aliquid* = *quicquam.* Cf. Ch. 1, N. 21. Cf. Act. 4, 32, *multitudinis autem credentium erat cor unum, et anima una; nec quisquam eorum, quae possidebat, aliquid suum esse dicebat; sed erant illis omnia communia.* It has been objected by some scholars that Augustine's theory of property has been vitiated by the undue prominence he gives to this text. Augustine, like Ambrose, in the opinion of these scholars, believed that this text implies a permanent condemnation of private property. For a defence of Augustine against this charge of "Christian Communism," cf. Bernard Roland-Gosselin, *La Morale de Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1925, pp. 168-218).

33. **a Iudaeis . . . passi:** for the construction, cf. Ch. 17, N. 30. The Jews were both persecutors of the early Christians and instigators of persecution. Cf. Tert. *Scorp.* 10, *synagogas*

Iudaeorum fontes persecutionum; id. *Apol.* 7, *tot hostes eius quot extranei, et quidem proprie ex aemulatione Iudaei.* Cf. Bingham, 13, Ch. 5, S. 4.

34. **ut latius Christus eorum dispersione praedicaretur, et imitarentur . . . patientiam:** note the figure of chiasmus. The Jews, by dispersing the Christians, were unconsciously spreading abroad the faith. Augustine is fond of emphasizing this providential fact. Cf., for example, *Serm.* 116, 6, *lapidato Stephano passa est illa congeries persecutionem: sparsa sunt ligna, et accensus est mundus; Serm.* 316, 4, *occiso Stephano persecutionem gravissimam Ecclesia Ierosolymis passa est. Fugati sunt fratres qui ibi erant: soli apostoli remanserunt; ceteri fugabantur. Sed tamquam ardentes faces, quocumque veniebant, accendebant. Stulti Iudaei, quando illos de Ierosolymis fugabant, carbones ignis in silvam mittebant.*

35. **mansuetus . . . mansuefactus:** note the play on words; cf. Ierem. 11, 19, *et ego quasi agnus mansuetus qui portatur ad victimam;* Hebr. 12, 3, *recogitate enim eum qui talem sustinuit a peccatoribus adversum semetipsum contradictionem, ut ne fatigemini, animis vestris deficientes.*

35ª. **sanctorum:** the usual name of 'Christians' in the New Testament; cf. Rom. 1, 7, *vocatis sanctis* (κλητοῖς ἁγίοις).

36. **persecutoribus:** p. c. Cf. 1 Tim. 1, 13, *qui prius blasphemus fui et persecutor.*

37. **in Christianos maxime saeviebat:** cf. Act. 8, 3, *Saulus autem devastabat ecclesiam;* ibid. 9, 1, *Saulus autem adhuc spirans minarum.*

38. **credens et apostolus factus:** note the aorist use of the present participle *credens.* This usage occurs occasionally in Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus; it is found frequently in p. c. writers who were influenced by Biblical Latin in which the present participle often represents the Greek aorist. Cf. Act. 20, 11, ἀναβὰς δὲ καὶ κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον καὶ γευσάμενος, ἐφ' ἱκανόν τε ὁμιλήσας (*ascendens autem, frangensque panem, et gustans, satisque allocutus*). **apo-**

stolus: here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'an apostle.' Cf. 1 Cor. 1, 1, *Paulus vocatus apostolus Iesu Christi.*

39. **ut gentibus evangelium praedicaret:** cf. Act. 9, 15, *dixit autem ad eum dominus: vade, quoniam vas electionis est mihi iste, ut portet nomen meum coram gentibus, et regibus, et filiis Israel;* Galat. 2, 2, *et contuli cum illis Evangelium, quod praedico in Gentibus. Praedicare,* with or without *Evangelium,* is the word regularly used by the Fathers to designate the spreading of the Christian faith. Cf. Koffmane, 81.

40. **graviora perpessus . . . . quam fecerat contra nomen Christi:** for the phrase *graviora perpessus,* cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 199, *o passi graviora.* For St. Paul's account of his sufferings, cf. 2 Cor. 11, 23, *in laboribus plurimis, in carceribus abundantius,* etc. Though formerly a persecutor, he has labored hard as an apostle: cf. 1 Cor. 15, 9, *non sum dignus vocari apostolus, quoniam persecutus sum ecclesiam dei . . . sed abundantius illis omnibus laboravi.* For the use of *nomen* here, cf. Ch. 10, N. 3.

41. **ad unum deum colendum rudes:** *rudis* with *ad* and the gerund or gerundive is p. c. Cf. Iust. *Hist.* 1, 1, 5, *rudes adhuc ad resistendum populos. Rudis,* however, with the preposition *ad* governing a substantve or a pronoun, is classical. Cf. Liv. 45, 32, 10, *ad quae rudes tum Romani erant.*

42. **oblationes:** *oblatio* both in its active and passive meaning is p. c. It is used in the latter meaning here. Cf. *Cod. Theod.* n, 2, 14, *oblationem . . . promissam partim remittimus vobis.* Cf. Act. 24, 17, *post annos autem plures eleemosynas facturus in gentem meam, veni, et oblationes et vota;* cf. Rom. 15, 26, *probaverunt enim Macedonia et Achaia collationem aliquam facere in pauperes sanctorum, qui sunt in Ierusalem.* This whole section (Ch. 23, S. 43) bears a striking resemblance to *Aug. Serm.* 252.

43. **illos . . . illos:** = *hos . . . illos.* Cf. Ch. 4, N. 17.

44. **milites . . . stipendiarios provinciales:** Augustine frequently refers to the clergy as *milites,* and to the laity as *provinciales:* as the *provinciales* support the soldiers, who protect them by paying taxes, so the laity must support the clergy. This comparison is borrowed from St. Paul. Cf. 1 Cor. 9, 7, 14, *quis militat suis stipendiis umquam? . . . ita et dominus ordinavit iis,*

qui evangelium annunciant, de evangelio vivere; cf. also 2 Cor. 11, 8, *alias ecclesias exspoliavi, accipiens stipendium ad ministerium vestrum.* For the same comparison in Augustine, cf. *Tract. in Ioan. Ev.* 122, 3, *satis igitur apertum est, non imperatum, sed in potestate apostolis positum, ut aliunde non viverent nisi ex evangelio . . . et tamquam milites Christi, stipendium debitum acciperent, sicut a provincialibus Christi;* cf. *Enarr. in Ps.* 90, *Serm.* 1, 10, *quia illi tamquam milites, illi tamquam annonam praebentes provinciales, sub uno tamen imperatore et miles et provincialis in regno est. Miles fortis, provincialis devotus . . .* ; also *Enarr. in Ps.* 103, *Serm.* 3, 9; *Serm.* 351, 5.

45. **Christum velut lapidem angularem:** cf. Act. 4, 11, *hic est lapis qui reprobatus est . . . qui factus est in caput anguli;* cf. Ephes. 2, 20, *ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu;* Ps. 117, 2; Isa. 28, 16.

46. **in quo ambo quasi parietes,** etc.: cf. Aug. *Serm.* 252, 3, *volebat enim apostolus, ut ex diverso veniens populus gentium, tamen angulum tangeret, ubi firma pax erat;* cf. Optat. Milev. 3, 10, *nec lapidem habere angularem unus paries potest, qui lapis est Christus duos in se suscipiens populos, unum de gentibus, alterum de Iudaeis;* cf. Chrysost. *Hom.* 6, 1066, εἶτα φησίν· ὁ τὸ πᾶν συνέχων ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, ὁ γὰρ λίθος ὁ ἀκρογωνιαῖος καὶ τοὺς τοίχους συνέχει καὶ τοὺς θεμελίους; also the hymn, *Urbs beata Ierusalem,* 5, *angulare fundamentum lapis Christus missus est | qui compage parietum in utroque nectitur.* To appreciate this metaphor of the corner-stone (Christ) in which are linked together as portions of the building both Jew and Gentile, we must bear in mind that it is Oriental. Dr. J. A. Robinson, in his commentary *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* (Second Edition, London, 1914, p. 69), writes: "When St. Paul speaks of Christ as the corner-stone, he uses a metaphor which appears to be wholly Oriental. The Greeks laid no stress on corner-stones. We must go to the East if we would understand at all what they mean. The corner-stones in the temple substructures . . . are not, as we might perhaps have supposed, stones so shaped as to contain a right-angle, and thus by their projecting arms to bind two walls together. . . . They are straight blocks which run up to a corner, where they are met in the angle by similar stones, the ends of which come immediately

above or below them. These straight blocks are of great length, frequently measuring fifteen feet. . . . It was such a stone as this that furnished the ancient prophet with his image of the Messiah."

47. **graviores et crebriores persecutiones:** the ten great persecutions (52—312 A. D.) in which thousands of Christians perished.

48. **ecce ego mitto vos:** cf. Matth. 10, 16, *ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum.* The sufferings of the martyrs appealed particularly to Augustine. Many of his finest sermons were delivered on their anniversaries. Cf. for example, *Serm.* 309-313 in honor of St. Cyprian; *Serm.* 317-319 in honor of St. Stephen.

CHAPTER 24.

(44, 45) *The Church likened to a vine; how it has been watered with the blood of martyrs and pruned of heresies.*

1. **illa vitis:** cf. Ioan. 15, 5, *ego sum vitis, vos palmites.*

2. **amplius:** = *magis.* Cf. Ch. 9, N. 4.

3. **martyrum sanguine:** for the thought, cf. Tert. *Apol.* 21, *sanguinem Christianum seminaverunt;* id. 50, 13, *etiam plures efficimur, quotiens metimur a vobis: semen est sanguis Christianorum;* Hier. *Ep.* 27, 2, *est sanguis martyrum seminarium ecclesiarum;* Cypr. *De Laude Martyrii,* 7, *martyrum sanguis mundum fecundavit;* cf. also Aug. *In Ps.* 58, *Serm.* 1, 4, *effusus est magnus et multus martyrum sanguis: quo effuso tamquam seminata seges ecclesiae fertilius pullulavit et totum mundum sicut nunc conspicimus occupavit; De Civ. Dei* 22, 6, *ligabantur, includebantur, caedebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, et multiplicabantur.*

4. **per omnes terras:** for the expression, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8, 26, *terras animalia fessa per omnes sopor habebat.*

4ª. **pro fidei veritate:** = *pro fide vera.* This is a favorite phrase with St. Ambrose. Cf. Hymn, *Iam surgit hora tertia,* 13-16: *hinc iam beata tempora | coepere Christi gratia, | fidei replevit veritas | totum per orbem ecclesias.* Walpole, p. 42, cites also *De Iob.* 3, 16; *In Ps.* 28, 34; *Ep.* 21, 12.

5. **ipsa persequentia regna:** = *ipsa regna quae persequebantur.* For the construction, cf. Ch. 19, N. 6. **regna:** = *reges.* The use of *regna* for *reges* in classical Latin is confined to poetry. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 12, 38. The plural form *regna* is likewise confined to poetry in classical Latin; it occurs rather frequently in Vergil. The plural form also occurs frequently in the Scriptures.

6. **superbiae cervice:** = *superba cervice.* Cf. Ch. 18, N. 25. *Cervix* is a favorite word in Scripture to designate 'stubbornness,' 'obstinacy,' Cf. Exod. 32, 9, *quod populus iste durae cervicis sit.* In classical Latin *cervix* is used metaphorically in the sense of 'effrontery.' Cf. Cic. *In Verr.* 3, 59, 135, *qui tantis erunt cervicibus.*

7. **infructuosa sarmenta:** cf. Ioan. 15, 1, *omnem palmitem in me non ferentem fructum, tollet eum.* The Old Latin version of Ioan. 15, 1, reads, *omne sarmentum,* etc. Though usually employing the Vulgate for his Gospel quotations, Augustine frequently gives the Old Latin version when, in the case of a short phrase or of a single word, as here, he quotes from memory. Cf. Ch. 3, N. 31.

8. **schismata:** here used in its theological meaning of 'schisms.' Cf. Tert. *De Praescrip. Haeret.* 5, *apostolus dissensiones et schismata increpat.*

9. **per loca:** = 'in divers places.' The preposition is here used distributively like κατὰ in Greek. Cf. Marc. 8, 13, *et erunt terrae motus per loca* (κατὰ τόπους). For the distributive use of *per* in classical Latin, cf. Liv. 1, 9, *invitati hospitaliter per domos.*

10. **sub Christi nomine:** 'under the pretext of Christ's name.' For this meaning, cf. Tac. *Ann.* 6, 12, *quia multa vana sub nomine celebri vulgabantur.*

11. **magis magisque:** figure of repetition.

12. **et probaretur atque illustraretur et doctrina eius et patientia:** *illustraretur* is taken up by *doctrina* and *probaretur* by *patientia,* in chiastic order: 'that the long-suffering of the Church may be put to the test and her doctrine elucidated.' For similar chiastic constructions, cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 3, 5, *philosophia iacuit usque ad hanc aetatem nec ullum habuit lumen litterarum Latinarum; quae inlustranda et excitanda nobis est.* The exact meaning of *illustrare* is 'to elucidate.' Cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 2, 13, 55, *si ista*

res . . . inlustrata non est; id. *Acad.* 1, 1, 3, *philosophiam veterem . . . litteris illustrare.* Heresy and schism were of value to the Church: (1) they gave the faithful an opportunity to practise patience and forbearance; (2) they were frequently the occasion of councils of the Church at which not only was heresy condemned but dogma was defined and explained. Cf. 1 Cor. 11, 19, *nam oportet et haereses esse, ut et qui probati sunt manifesti fiant in vobis;* Aug. *Conf.* 7, 19, 25, *improbatio quippe haereticorum facit eminere, quid ecclesia tua sentiat et quid habeat sana doctrina. Oportuit enim et haereses esse, ut probati manifesti fierent inter infirmos;* Vincent. Lerin. *Commonitorium,* 20, 25, *oportet, inquit, et haereses esse, ut probati manifesti fiant in vobis; ac si diceret: ob hoc haereseon non statim divinitus eradicantur auctores, ut probati manifesti fiant, id est, ut unusquisque quam tenax et fidelis et fixus catholicae fidei sit amator appareat. Et revera, cum quaeque novitas ebullit, statim cernitur frumentorum gravitas et levitas palearum; tunc sine magno molimine excutitur ab area quod nullo pondere intra aream tenebatur.*

13. **illa quae:** = *ea quae.* For the confusion of these pronouns among p. c. writers, cf. Ch. 4, N. 17.

14. **sustinentes et perseverantes in domino:** *sustinere* = 'to wait patiently,' 'to expect.' Cf. Martial, *Epig.* 9, 3, 13, *exspectes et sustineas necesse est.* It is frequently found in this meaning in the Scriptures. Cf. Matth. 26, 38, *sustinete hic et vigilate;* Act. 1, 4 (Old Latin version), *sed sustineant pollicitationem Patris;* Tert. *Adv. Iud.* 6, *si necdum venit, sustinendus est; Apol.* 35; *De Test. An.* 5; *Adv. Herm.* 29; *Scorp.* 2, 13; *De Paen.* 6; *De Fuga in Pers.* 11. For the Scripture allusion, cf. Ps. 26, 14, *exspecta Dominum, viriliter age; et confortetur cor tuum, et sustine Dominum.*

15. **tribulationes futurae . . . et ipse ultimus iudicii dies: tribulationes futurae:** cf. Marc. 13, 19, *erunt enim dies illi tribulationes tales, quales non fuerunt ab initio creaturae, quam condidit deus, usque nunc, neque fient.* **et ipse ultimus iudicii dies:** for the expression, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2, 248, *nos delubra deum miseri, quibus ultimus esset | ille dies . . .*; also Aug. *De Gen. adv. Man.* 1, 1, c. 42, *ultimus dies; De Cons. Evang.* 1, 2, c. 113. For the expression *iudicii dies,* cf. 2 Petr. 3, 7, *in diem iudicii.*

16. **claritate:** another word taken from the Old Latin version: cf. Matth. 25, 31, *cum venerit filius hominis in claritate sua;* the Vulgate reads, *in maiestate sua.* Cf. N. 7, above.

17. **segregabit:** cf. Matth. 25, 32 (Old Latin version), *et segregabit illos;* the Vulgate reads, *et separabit,* etc.

18. **infructuose:** p. c. Cf. Hier. *Ep.* 12, 16; Aug. *Ep.* 67, 6.

19. **illis . . . illis:** = *illis . . . his.* Cf. Ch. 4, N. 17.

20. **poenam aeternam cum diabolo:** cf. Matth. 25, 41, *discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo, et angelis eius.*

21. **aliqua:** = *ulla.* Cf. Ch. 1, N. 21.

CHAPTER 25.

(46) *An exhortation to belief in the dogma of the resurrection of the body.*

(47) *Our minds and affections should be set on the everlasting life of the saints in which faith gives place to fruition.*

(48) *We should beware of the temptations of the devil which may assail us through pagans, heretics, Jews, or even through Christians who are such in name only; it is not enough to have the name of Christian to be saved.*

(49) *The candidate should be urged to associate with the good; yet he should put his trust in no man.*

1. **eius nomine atque adiutorio:** for the phrase cf. Ps. 118, 28, *adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini.*

2. **cui credis:** 'in whom you put your trust.' Cf. Ch. 3, N. 29.

3. **seductoria:** p. c. Cf. Ambr. *De Bono Mortis,* 9, 41, *non sequamur illecebrosa et seductoria;* cf. Aug. *Conf.* 5, 6, 11, *quod fiebat acceptius magisque seductorium.*

4. **sed ex te ipso crede,** etc.: cf. Tert. *Apol.* 48, 5, *considera temetipsum, o homo . . . recogita quid fueris, antequam esses: utique nihil; meminisses enim, si quid fuisses. Qui ergo nihil fueras priusquam esses, idem nihil factus cum esse desieris, cur non possis esse rursus de nihilo, eiusdem ipsius auctoris voluntate, qui*

te voluit esse de nihilo? Quid novi tibi eveniet? Qui non eras, factus es; cum iterum non eris, fies. Redde si potes rationem qua factus es, et tunc require qua fies; Tert. *De Carn. Resurr.* 11, *idoneus est reficere qui fecit, quanto plus est fecisse quam refecisse, initium dedisse, quam reddidisse;* Min. Fel. *Oct.* 34, 8, *ceterum quis tam stultus aut brutus est, ut audeat repugnare hominem a deo, ut primum potuisse fingi, ita posse denuo reformari?;* Prud. *Contr. Symm.* 2, 191, *qui potui formare novum, renovabo peremptum;* Ambr. *De Fide Resurr.* 64, *cur miremur renasci posse quod fuerit, cum videamus natum esse quod non fuit;* Petr. Chrysolog. *Serm.* 59, *crede, homo, de morte resurgere te posse, quia antequam viveres, nil fuisti;* Greg. *Hom.* 26, *in Evang.* 12, *longe minus est deo reparare quod fuit quam creasse quod non fuit. Aut quid mirum, si hominem ex pulvere reficit, qui simul omnia ex nihilo creavit?*

5. **ubi enim erat ista moles corporis . . . priusquam natus:** a favorite thought of Augustine's: cf. *Conf.* 1, 6, 12, *fuine alicubi aut aliquis? nam quis mihi dicat ista non habeo; nec pater nec mater potuerunt nec aliorum experimentum nec memoria mea;* cf. 2 Machab. 7, 22, *dixit ad eos; nescio qualiter in utero meo apparuistis; neque enim ego spiritum et animam donavi vobis et vitam, et singulorum membra non ego ipsa compegi.* **moles:** a word frequently used by Tertullian in this connection: cf. *Apol.* 17, *quod colimus, deus unus est, qui totam molem istam cum omni instrumento elementorum, corporum, spirituum . . . de nihilo expressit.* The expression is most probably reminiscent of Verg. *Aen.* 3, 656, *ipsum inter pecudes vasta se mole moventem.* Cf. Aug. *De An. Quant.* c. 29, *magna mole corporis.*

6. **invisibiliter . . . certisque aetatum incrementis: invisibiliter:** p. c. Cf. Tert. *Adv. Val.* 14. **certisque aetatum incrementis:** note how Augustine speaks of the various periods of growth from infancy to old age as *aetates,* which in classical Latin is used only of ages, generations, or epochs in a general sense (as, for example, in *De cat. Rud.* Ch. 22, S. 39, *peractis ergo quinque aetatibus saeculi*). Augustine most probably applied the term *aetates* to these periods of growth and development because he is fond of comparing the six periods of man's life (*infantia, pueritia, adolescentia, iuventus, gravitas, senectus*) to the evolution which takes place in

the six epochs into which the history of the world is divided; cf. *De Civ. Dei,* 10, 14, *sicut autem unius hominis, ita humani generis . . . . recta eruditio per quosdam articulos temporum tamquam aetatum profecit accessibus; De Div. Quaest. octoginta tribus,* 1, 58, *cum totum genus humanum tamquam unum hominem constitueris; De vera Rel.* 50, *genus humanum cuius tamquam unius hominis vita est; De Gen. c. Man.* 1, 39. According to Scholz (p. 157), this comparison was first instituted by Plato (cf. *Rep.* p. 432 A; 334 D). Among Latin writers prior to Augustine it is found in the historian Iulius Florus (cf. *Epit. de T. Livio,* 1, 1, *si quis populum Romanum quasi unum hominem consideret totamque eius aetatem percenseat . . . prima aetas sub regibus fuit . . . infantia, etc.*). **certis:** the usual word in Latin to designate whatever takes place at regular intervals. For the Scriptural reference, cf. Ps. 118, 15, *non est occultatum os meum a te, quod fecisti in occulto; et substantia mea in inferioribus terrae.*

7. **numquid ergo difficile est Deo,** etc.: for the phrase, cf. Gen. 18, 14, *numquid deo quidquam est difficile? Numquid* = *num.* In p. c. Latin the interrogative *num* has almost entirely disappeared, its place being taken by *numquid* or *numquidnam.* Contrary to classical usage, *numquid* may expect either a positive or a negative answer; in other words it takes the place of both *nonne* and *num.* Cf. F. Marx, *Die Beziehung des Altlateins zum Spätlateins,* in *N. J.* 23 (1909), 434. See also Souter's note in *Ambrosiaster,* p. 72. The argument that it is easier for God to restore man's body on the last day than it was to create him originally out of nothing is a commonplace among the apologists. Cf. Min. Fel. *Oct.* 34, *Porro difficilius est, id quod non sit incipere, quam id quod fuit iterare?;* Tert. *Apol.* 48, 6, *et tamen facilius utique fies quod fuisti aliquando, quia aeque non difficile factus es quod numquam fuisti aliquando;* Lact. 7, 23, 5, *si a principio deus hominem nescio quo inenarrabili modo instituit, credamus ab eodem restitui veterem posse, qui novum fecit.* For further references, cf. Note 4, above. **difficile:** the use of the positive here in the meaning of 'too difficult' is a Hebraism. Cf. Kaulen 162, a.

8. **in momento . . . in ictu temporis:** cf. 1 Cor. 15, 52, *in momento, in ictu oculi, in novissima tuba, et mortui resurgent incorrupti; et nos immutabimur. Oportet enim corruptibile hoc*

induere incorruptionem: et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem. Classical Latin has two expressions for 'a moment of time,' 'an instant': *punctum temporis* and *momentum temporis* or simply *momentum* (cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 34, 82, *fit enim ad punctum temporis;* Liv. 21, 33, *urbem momento cepit;* id. 21, 33, *sed is . . . momento temporis sedatur*). In p. c. Latin to express 'a moment of time,' *icus oculi* and *ictus temporis* are found (cf. 1 Cor. 15, 52, *in ictu oculi; Gell.* 14, 1, 27, *eodem ictu temporis;* Aug. *Ep.* 137, 8, *in ictu temporis*). For an analogous expression, cf. Cypr. *Ep.* 57, 1, *pacem sub ictu mortis acciperent.* While the classical expressions *momentum* and *instans* have survived in the Romance languages, *ictus oculi* and *ictus temporis* have disappeared. The corresponding expression for *momento temporis* in Greek is καιροῦ ῥοπῇ (cf. Chrysost. *Ep. ad Olymp.* 3, 2; 16, 2, ἐν βραχείᾳ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ). Sometimes ῥοπῇ alone occurs (cf. Sept. Sap. 18, 12, ἐπεὶ πρὸς μίαν ῥοπὴν ἡ ἐντιμοτέρα γένεσις αὐτῶν διεφθάρη). The corresponding expression for *ictus temporis* is στιγμὴ χρόνου, (cf. Plut. *Moral.* 104 B: βέλτιον δ' ἂν ἔχον ἦν εἰ μὴ μίαν ἡμέραν ἀλλὰ στιγμὴν εἶπε χρόνου; Luc. 4, 5, καὶ ἀναγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν στιγμῇ χρόνου).

9. **crede . . . quia sunt:** for the construction, cf. Ch. 1, N. 7.

10. **inconcusse:** first found in this treatise.

11. **omnia quae videntur quasi pereundo humanis oculis subtrahi, salva et integra sunt omnipotentiae dei:** ecclesiastical writers, particularly the apologists, were fond of drawing analogies for the resurrection of the body from the general law of decay and, as it were, of rebirth in Nature. Cf. Ioan. 12, 24, *nisi granum frumenti . . . mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet;* 1 Cor. 15, 36, *insipiens, tu quod seminas non vivificatur, nisi prius moriatur . . . sic et resurrectio mortuorum;* Clement of Rome, *Ep. ad Cor.* 24, 26; Min. Fel. *Oct.* 34, 9, *tu perire et deo credis, si quid oculis nostris hebetibus subtrahitur? Corpus omne, sive arescit in pulverem . . . subducitur nobis, sed deo elementorum custodia reservatur;* Tert. *Apol.* 48, *omnia pereundo servantur, omnia de interitu reformantur;* Ambr. *De Fide Resurr.* 63; Aug. *De Civ. Dei,* 22, 20; id. *Enchirid,* 88, *non perit deo terrena materies, de qua mortalium creatur caro, sed in quemlibet pulverem cineremve solvatur . . . illi animae humanae puncto temporis redit, quae illam*

primitus, ut homo fieret, viveret, cresceret, animavit. In the *Phaedo,* 15 D, Plato teaches that everything comes from its contrary, and that, therefore, life is born of death. Cf. Carlo Pascal, 136; Mayor's edition of Tertullian's *Apology,* 461-465, for exhaustive references. **salva et integra:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *Ac.* 2, 80, *sanis modo et integris sensibus; Pro Cluent.* 42, *ut salvae et incolumes sint civitates; Breviarium Romanum, In Festo S. S. Quadraginta Mart.* in II Nocturno, *Lect.* VI, *eorum reliquiae . . . salvae et integrae repertae.*

12. **ut in his corporibus reddant,** etc.: cf. Tert. *Apol.* 48, *certe quia ratio restitutionis destinatio iudicii est, necessario idem ipse qui fuerat exhibebitur, ut boni seu contrarii meriti iudicium a deo referat;* id. *De Resurr.* 8, *non possunt ergo separari in mercede quas opera coniungit;* Ambr. *De Fide Resurr.* 52, *cum omnis vitae nostrae usus in corporis animaeque consortio sit, resurrectio autem aut boni actus praemium habeat aut poenam improbi; necesse sit corpus resurgere, cuius actus expenditur. Quomodo enim in iudicium vocabitur anima sine corpore, cum de suo et corporis contubernio ratio praestanda sit?* For the expression *reddant . . . rationem,* cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 1, 45, *tibi ego rationem reddam?;* Luc. 16, 2, *redde rationem villicationis tuae.*

12ª. **commutationem:** cf. the fine passage in Cicero where he proclaims his belief in the immortality of the soul: *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 5, *supremus ille dies non exstinctionem sed commutationem affert.*

13. **quae materiam sempiternis doloribus praebeat:** cf. Tert. *Apol.* 48, *Ideoque repraesentabuntur et corpora, quia neque pati quicquam potest anima sola sine stabili materia, id est carne; et quod omnino de iudicio dei pati debent animae, non sine carne meruerunt, intra quam omnia egerunt;* Min. Fel. *Oct.* 35, *sicut ignes fulminum corpora tangunt nec absumunt . . . ita poenale illud incendium non damnis ardentium pascitur, sed inexesa corporum laceratione nutritur.*

14. **per immobilem fidem:** *immobilis* suggests 'steadfast perseverance.' St. Ambrose is fond of combining *immobilis* and *fides.* Cf. Ambr. *In Ps.* 47, 6, *apostoli immobiles fidei servaverunt fundamentum;* id. *In Ps.* 61, 18, *immobilis ergo fide Stephanus immobilem Christum videbat.*

15. **ubi nec tortores deficiunt,** etc.: cf. Isa. 66, 24, *vermis eorum non exstinguetur;* Marc. 9, 43, *ubi vermis eorum non moritur, et ignis non exstinguitur;* Apoc. 14, 11, *et fumus tormentorum eorum ascendet in saecula saeculorum, nec habet requiem die ac nocte, qui adoraverunt bestiam;* Anselm. *Or.* 69, *tormenta sine fine, sine intervallo, sine temperamento, tortores horribiles, qui numquam lassescunt, qui numquam miserentur.*

16. **quibus sine fine mors est, non posse in cruciatibus mori:** Cf. Apoc. 9, 6, *et in diebus illis quaerent homines mortem, et non invenient eam: et desiderabunt mori, et fugiet mors ab eis;* Aug. *Serm.* 307, 5, *mors secunda et mors vocatur, et nemo ita moritur, potius et melius dixerim, nemo ibi vivit, in doloribus enim vivere non est vivere;* id. *De Civ. Dei,* 19, 28, *miseria sempiterna, quae mors etiam secunda dicitur, quia nec anima ibi vivere dicenda est, quae a vita Dei alienata erit, nec corpus, quod aeternis doloribus subiacebit; ac per hoc ideo durior ista secunda mors, quia finiri morte non poterit.* Prud. *Hamartigenia,* 836, *carpunt tormenta, foventque | materiam sine fine datam: mors deserit ipsa | aeternos gemitus, ac flentes vivere cogit;* Cassiod. *In Ps.* 20, 10, *absumit ut servet, sic servat ut cruciet, dabiturque miseris vita immortalis et poena servatrix.* For the expression *in cruciatibus mori,* cf. Cic. *In Verr.* 5, 169, *ille in dolore cruciatuque moriens.*

17. **exardesce . . . desiderio:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *Phil.* 9, 19, *tota Italia desiderio libertatis exarsit.*

18. **nec operosa erit actio, nec requies desidiosa:** chiasmus. For the thought, cf. Aug. *Ep.* 55, 17, *inest autem in illa requie non desidiosa segnitia, sed quaedam ineffabilis tranquillitas actionis otiosae.*

19. **laus erit dei sine fastidio, sine defectu:** note figure of repetition. Cf. Apoc. 4, 8, *et requiem non habebant die ac nocte, dicentia, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus omnipotens.*

20. **nec tua cui subveniri desideres, nec proximi cui subvenire festines:** note anaphora and paronomasia: *subveniri . . . subvenire.*

21. **deliciae deus erit:** cf. Eccles. 5, 19, *non enim satis recordabitur dierum vitae suae, eo quod deus occupet deliciis cor eius.*

22. **aequales angelis dei:** cf. Luc. 20, 36, *neque enim ultra mori poterunt, aequales enim angelis sunt.*

23. **iam per speciem, in qua nunc per fidem:** cf. 2 Cor. 5, 7, *per fidem enim ambulamus, et non per speciem;* Aug. *In Ep. Ioan.* 6, 7, *modo cum fide vides, tunc cum specie videbis.* For Augustine's definition of *species,* cf. *De Trin.* 14, 2, *neque enim iam fides erit qua credantur quae non videntur, sed species, qua videantur quae credebantur.* For the thought, cf. Tennyson, *In Memoriam,* " Strong Son of God, immortal Love | Whom we, that have not seen thy face, | By faith, and faith alone embrace, | Believing where we cannot prove; . . . We have but faith: we cannot know, | For knowledge is of things we see. . . ."

24. **credimus enim quod non videmus, ut ipsis meritis fidei etiam videre quod credimus, et inhaerere mereamur:** cf. Ioan. 20, 29, *beati qui non viderunt, et crediderunt;* Aug. Tract. *in Ioan. Ev.* 68, 3, *si vides non est fides; Serm. de Scrip.* 127, 1, *magnum est quod promittitur et non videtur; erigitur fides, qua credimus, quod non videmus, ut mereamur videre, quod credimus; Serm. de Scrip.* 126, c. 1, *fides est gradus intelligendi, intellectus est meritum fidei; Enarr. in Ps.* 109 n. 8, *quae esset merces fidei, nisi lateret quod credimus? Merces autem fidei est videre, quod credidimus, antequam videremus; De Civ. Dei,* 13, 14, *tunc est fides, quando exspectatur in spe, quod in re nondum videtur.* **inhaerere:** as it stands, this verb must be taken absolutely. For this absolute use, cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 4, 11, 26, *opinio inhaerens;* Quint. *Inst. Orat.* 11, 2, 6, *non haec varietas mira est, excidere proxima, vetera inhaerere;* Aug. *De Civ. Dei* 11, 24, *inhaerens iucundatur.* In the present passage, however, the sense requires that it be used transitively: " that we may be counted worthy to see what we believe, and *therein* abide." Dr. Souter is of the opinion that *ei* has dropped out before *inhaerere.*

25. **ipsius trinitatis unitatem:** cf. Ambr. *De Excessu Fratr.* 1, 4, *trinitatis totius unitatem;* Paulinus, *Vita Ambr.* 16, *qui non crederet in trinitatis unitatem, quam docet Ambrosius;* cf. Athanasian Creed: *ita ut per omnia, sicut iam supra dictum est, et unitas in trinitate, et trinitas in unitate veneranda sit.*

25[a]. **strepentibus syllabis personemus:** note with what effect

Augustine employs assonance here. *Personare* = 'to shout' in contrast with: *in illo silentio sorbeamus.* This use of *personare* is rare in classical Latin; cf. Cic. *Cael.* 20, 47, *illae vero non loquuntur solum, verum etiam personant; Rep.* 1, 2, 2, *quas res isti in angulis personant.* For its use in p. c. Latin, cf. Ier. 31, 7, *personate, et canite, et dicite;* Sedul. *Hymn. A solis ortus cardine,* 37: *caterva matrum personat.*

26. **contemplatione:** cf. Aug. *De div. Quaest.* 69, 5, *in tantum est beatitudo nostra, in quantum dei contemplatione perfruimur.*

27. **silentio:** cf. the preparation for intuition described by Plotinus, *Enn.* 5, 1, 2. Pourrat, 211, observes: "In order to arrive at contemplation the soul requires far more moral preparation than for the rational knowledge of God. The Neo-Platonists attached the highest importance to this preparation. Enlightened by Christian Faith, St. Augustine also insists on it. He knows that contemplation is entirely a spiritual phenomenon, altogether divine; the soul cannot reach it without at the outset freeing itself from the senses and from all that is of the body, so that it may retire within itself and receive the divine light . . . to reach contemplation the soul must be raised above all that is sensible and material. Cf. Augustine's last conversation with Monica at Ostia before her death, *Conf.* 9, 10, 24, *erigentes nos ardentiore affectu in id ipsum perambulavimus gradatim cuncta corporalia et ipsum caelum . . . et adhuc ascendebamus interius cogitando et loquendo . . . et transcendimus eas, ut attingeremus regionem ubertatis indeficientis . . . Dicebamus ergo: si cui sileat tumultus carnis, sileant phantasiae terrae et aquarum et aeris, sileant et poli et ipsa sibi anima sileat et transeat se non se cogitando, sileant somnia et imaginariae revelationes, omnis lingua et omne signum et quidquid iranseundo fit si cui sileat omnino—quoniam si quis audiat, dicunt haec omnia,* etc. Gibb and Montgomery in their note (p. 260) quote a passage of Plotinus which closely reproduces Augustine's thought: *Enn.* v, 1, 2, ἥσυχον δὲ αὐτῇ (τῇ ψυχῇ) ἔστω μὴ μόνον τὸ περικείμενον σῶμα, καὶ ὁ τοῦ σώματος κλύδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τὸ περιέχον. ἥσυχος μὲν γῆ, ἥσυχος δὲ θάλασσα καὶ ἀὴρ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀμύμων. Cf. Batiffol, *St. Augustine an Initiator of Catholic Mysticism,* in *The constructive Quarterly,* 10 (1922), 216; Butler, 146; Grandgeorge, 149; Elsee, 82; W. Montgomery, *St. Augustine and*

Plotinus, in *Transactions of the London Society for the Study of Religion* (1914); Loesche 52; id. *Plotin und Augustin,* in *Z. F. K. W.* 5 (1884), 341. The same Platonic idea of the necessity of escaping from the senses as a preparation for contemplation is expressed by Wordsworth in *Lines composed above Tintern Abbey:* "that serene and blessed mood, | In which the affections gently lead us on, . . . we are laid asleep | In body, and become a living soul," etc. Cf. however, H. W. Garrod, *Wordsworth: Lectures and Essays* (Oxford, 1923, p. 117), for the difference between the Platonism of Plato and the Platonism of Wordsworth. Cf. Cardinal Newman (*Parochial and Plain Sermons,* Vol. VI, Serm. 16, p. 231): "Christ . . . is in the very abyss of peace, where there is no voice of tumult or distress, but a deep stillness,—stillness, that greatest and most awful of all goods which we can fancy,—that most perfect of joys, the utter, profound, ineffable tranquility of the Divine Essence."

28. **haec tene fixa:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *Pro Balb.* 28, 65, *fixum in animis vestris tenetote.*

29. **invoca deum:** cf. Ioan. 1, 6, *invoca deum tuum.*

30. **hostis:** a common epithet of the devil in the Fathers. Cf. Ambr. *De Inst. David.* 11, 28, *ne hostis introeat.* For the thought, cf. 1 Pet. 5, 8, *vigilate, quia adversarius vester diabolus . . . circuit.*

31. **subrepat:** the image is that of the devil creeping on the Christian unawares.

32. **ad solatium . . . damnationis suae:** the devil is jealous of man and finds his only consolation in trying to make him a fellow in his damnation. Cf. Sap. 2, 24, *invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum;* Tert. *Apol.* 22, *operatio eorum (daemonum) est hominis eversio. Sic malitia spiritalis a primordiis auspicata est in hominis exitium;* Min. Fel. *Oct.* 26, 8, *ad solatium calamitatis suae non desinunt perditi iam perdere et depravati errorem pravitatis infundere et alienati a deo inductis pravis religionibus a deo segregare;* Lact. *Inst. Div.* 2, 14, 11, *solatium perditionis suae perdendis hominibus operantur;* Tat. *Ad Graec.* 29; cf. Leo Mag. *Ad Flavianum Ep.* 28, 3, *nam quia gloriabatur diabolus, hominem sua fraude deceptum divinis caruisse*

muneribus, et immortalitatis dote nudatum duram mortis subiisse sententiam, seque in malis suis quoddam de praevaricatoris consortio invenisse solatium; for other references, see Souter's note on Tert. *Apol.* 22, *eversio;* also Souter, *Reasons for regarding,* etc., in *J. Th. S.* 5 (1904), 616; Milton, *Paradise Lost,* 9, 126, "Nor hope to be myself less miserable | By what I seek, but others to make such | As I, though thereby worse to me redound: | For only in destroying I find ease | To my relentless thoughts." **damnationis:** here used in its ecclesiastical meaning of 'damnation'; cf. Rom. 3, 8, *quorum damnatio iusta est.*

33. **occupatum:** a metaphor borrowed from the camp: in the war between Christianity and paganism the world has been 'occupied' ('captured') by the former. See Wilkins' note on *De Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 2, 4.

34. **curiositatibus:** in the sense of 'superstitions' is p. c. Cf. Tert. *De Praescrip. Haeret.* 40, *vasa impiorum sacrificiorum ac piaculorum et votorum curiositates consideremus;* Aug. *De Civ. Dei,* 10, 9, *non in cautionibus et carminibus nefariae curiositatis arte compositis;* id. *Ep.* 118, 33, *aliqui eorum magicarum artium curiositate depravati sunt;* id. *De Trin.* 4, 12, 15, *nequaquam . . . per sacrilegas similitudines et impias curiositates et magicas consecrationes animae purgantur;* id. *In Ep. Ioannis in Parthos Tract.* 2, 13, *Iam quam late patet curiositas? Ipsa in spectaculis, in theatris, in sacramentis diaboli, in magicis artibus, in maleficiis ipsa est curiositas.* Cf. Ch. 26, N. 11.

35. **praecisos:** the Donatists who as schismatics were cut off from the vine of the Church as dead branches. No Father of the Church has insisted more than Augustine on the necessity of union with the see of Peter. Cf. Batiffol, 1, 192, Excursus B, *La "Cathedra Petri" dans la Controverse Antidonatiste d'Augustin.* Cf. *Ps. Contra Partem Donati,* 220, *Scitis Catholica quid sit, et quid sit praecisum a vite | si qui sunt inter vos cauti, veniant, vivant in radice | venite, fratres, si vultis, ut inseramini in vite, | dolor est cum vos videmus praecisos ita iacere.* Cf. S. Optat. Milev, 2, 9, *intelligite vel sero vos esse filios inpios, vos esse fractos ramos ab arbore, vos esse abscisos palmites a vite . . . non enim potest . . . arbor a ramo concidi, cum arbor fundata suis radicibus gaudeat et ramus, si fuerit exsectus, arescat.*

36. **schismatici:** coined by Augustine. Cf. *De Quaest. in Matth.* 17, 11, *schismaticos non fides diversa facit, sed communionis disrupta societas.*

37. **unusquisque:** = *quisquam.* Cf. Ch. 1, N. 21.

38. **deus patiens est in illos:** for the phrase, cf. Ecclus. 18, 9, *propter hoc patiens est deus in illis.*

39. **electorum:** here used in its Scriptural meaning of 'the elect.' Cf. Col. 3, 12, *induite vos ergo, sicut elect dei, . . . benignitatem.* For the thought, cf. Lact. *Inst. Div.* 5, 23, *itaque ne tam corrumperentur otio quam patres eorum licentia, premi eos voluit ab iis in quorum manibus eos collocavit, ut et labantes confirmet, et corruptos ad fortitudinem reparet, et fidos experiatur ac tentet. Quomodo enim potest imperator militum suorum probare virtutem, nisi habuerit hostem?*

40. **proficiunt:** cf. Ch. 7, N. 24.

41. **ad placendum deo miserati animas magno impetu convertuntur:** cf. Ecclus. 30, 24, *miserere animae tuae placens deo.* The Septuagint reads ἀγάπα τὴν ψυχήν σου and omits the equivalent of *placens deo.* For the expression *magno impetu,* cf. Cic. *Or.* 129, *magno semper usi impetu.* In using it here, however, Augustine most probably had in mind 2 Petr. 3, 10, *in quo caeli magno impetu transient,* where *magno impetu* represents the Greek adverb ῥοιζηδόν which means 'with noise, violence, vehemence,' being derived from ῥοιζέω, ῥοιζος, which are used of shrill, rushing sounds.

41ª. **per patientiam dei:** cf. Rom. 2, 4, *an divitias bonitatis eius, et patientiae, et longanimitatis contemnis? Ignoras quoniam benignitas Dei ad paenitentiam te adducit? Secundum autem duritiam tuam et impaenitens cor, thesaurizas tibi iram in die irae, et revelationis iusti iudicii Dei;* 2 Cor. 7, 10, *quae enim secundum Deum tristitia est, paenitentiam in salutem stabilem operatur.*

42. **rectam viam tenent:** cf. Ierem. 31, 21, *dirige cor meum in viam rectam.* For the phrase, cf. Lucr. 5, 714, *consimilem cursuque viam sub sole tenere.*

43. **animadversurus etiam quod illae turbae impleant ecclesias:** on January 29, 399, the Emperor Honorius issued a decree forbidding the worship of idols and ordering the destruction of pagan

temples. As the second part of the decree had not been carried out in Africa, the bishops sent a delegation to Rome, asking that it be enforced. Their request was granted, and on March 19, 399, the pagan temple in Carthage was destroyed. Many who were still pagans at heart became Christians, but in name only. Though obliged by law to attend church services,—at which not infrequently they showed gross disrespect,—they continued to observe privately their pagan customs and practices and celebrated the *dies sollemnes paganorum.* Cf. Boissier, 2, 371. Cf. Aug. *De Civ. Dei* 1, 35, *qui etiam cum ipsis inimicis adversus Deum, cuius sacramentum gerunt, murmurare non dubitant, modo cum illis theatra, modo ecclesias nobiscum replentes;* also *Serm.* 196; 198.

44. **per dies festos:** *per* is best taken here as distributive, or as denoting repetition: 'on all the feast-days.' For this use of the preposition *per* in Biblical Latin, in imitation of the Greek κατά, cf. Matth. 27, 15, *per diem autem sollemnem* (κατὰ δὲ ἑορτὴν). It may be observed, however, that in p. c. Latin, the accusative with the preposition *per* is sometimes used to express 'time at which.' Salonius, 123, cites *Vitae Patrum* 6, 3, 11, *per singulos menses affert mihi unum botryonem, qui mihi sufficit triginta diebus,* where, curiously enough, the accusative with *per* expresses 'time at which,' while the ablative expresses 'duration of time.'

45. **paganorum:** *paganus* originally meant 'a civilian' as opposed to 'a soldier.' Cf. Plin. *Ep.* 10, 18, *et milites et pagani;* also Iuv. 16, 13, *citius falsum producere testem | contra paganum possis, quam vera loquentem | contra fortunam armati contraque pudorem* (on which passage see Mayor's note). As the civilians (*pagani*) were less amenable to imperial influence (which from Constantine on was usually exerted in favor of Christianity) than were the military and others in the employ of the government, *paganus* gradually became synonymous with 'non-Christian.' This theory is held by Harnack (cf. *Die Mission und die Ausbreitung des Christentums,* Leipzig, 1915, 2, p. 350, 401, 402) and by Th. Zahn (cf. *Paganus* in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift,* 10 (1899), pp. 18-44). According to the traditional explanation *paganus* is derived from *pagus;* hence its original meaning was 'a rustic,' 'a dweller in the country' (cf. Oros. *Hist. Praef,* 3, *alieni a civitate dei ex locorum agrestium conpitis et pagis pagani vocantur sive gentiles*). As the

country districts were the last to embrace Christianity, *paganus* came to be associated with backwardness in accepting Christianity. The traditional explanation would seem to be the sounder. Cf. Godefroi's note in *Cod. Theod.* 4, 274. It has been ably defended recently by M. J. Zeiller in *Paganus, Étude de terminologie historique* in *Collectanea Friburgensia, Nouvelle série,* t. XVII (Fribourg, 1917, pp. 19, 43). The first instance of the use of the word 'pagan' as opposed to 'Christian' is to be found most probably in an inscription of the second century, given by Lanciani in *Pagan and Christian Rome* (1892) p. 15; *quod inter fideles fidelis fuit; inter alienos pagana fuit.*

46. **quod etiam nunc iam utique nosti:** the phrase *etiam nunc* is classical; likewise the phrase: *nunc iam* or *iam nunc;* but I have been unable to find the pleonasm: *etiam nunc iam.* The multiplication of particles is a characteristic of colloquial Latin, and many such pleonasms are found in p. c. Latin. Cf. Löfstedt, 59; Salonius, 335. It is just possible that *iam* goes with *utique* to make it more emphatic. This use of *iam* is classical: cf. Cic. *Fin.* 5, 5, 14, *quem iam cur Peripateticum appellem. Utique* expressing strong affirmation (= *vaí*) is a favorite particle among p. c. writers. Waltzing, in his note on *utique* in Tertullian's *Apologia* 1, 6, observes that this particle occurs forty times in the *Apology* alone.

47. **non enim nescis:** figure of litotes.

48. **mala operari:** for the phrase, cf. 3 Reg. 14, 9, *operatus es mala.*

49. **cum coeperit ille severissime iudicare, qui prius dignatus est misericordissime subvenire:** anaphora. The superlative *misericordissime* is first cited from this treatise. Cf. N. W. 2, 254.

50. **non omnis qui dicit mihi,** etc.: in Biblical Latin *omnis* is sometimes used with a negative to express a strong, positive statement, in imitation of the Hebrew. Cf. Matth. 7, 21, *non omnis qui dicit mihi: domine, domine, intrabit in regnum caelorum; sed qui facit voluntatem patris mei, qui in caelis est, ipse intrabit in regnum caelorum;* Luc. 13, 26, *tunc incipietis dicere: manducavimus coram te, et bibimus, et in plateis nostris docuisti.*

51. **in illa die:** 'the day of judgment.' *Dies* frequently has this meaning in the Scriptures. Cf. Hebr. 10, 25; 1 Cor. 3, 13; and the famous hymn of Thomas a Celano, *Dies irae, dies illa.*

52. **in talibus operibus perseverant:** for the phrase, cf. Iudith, 4, 14, *si perseveraveritis in hoc opere.*

52ª. **damnatio finis est:** for the expression, cf. Phil. 3, 18, *multi enim ambulant, quos saepe dicebam vobis (nunc autem et flens dico) inimicos crucis Christi: quorum finis interitus.*

53. **tene te ad legem dei:** the expression *tenere se ad aliquid* is p. c. *Se tenere ad legem dei = se legi dei confidere, in lege dei fiduciam habere.* Cf. K. S. 2, 652. The *lex* here, of course, refers to the Decalogue.

54. **non sequaris:** = *noli sequi. Non* or *ne* followed by the second person of the present subjunctive is regularly used in Biblical Latin to express prohibition, where classical Latin would prefer *noli* with the infinitive or *ne* followed by the perfect subjunctive. Cf. Ioan. 3, 7, *non mireris quia dixi tibi: oportet vos nasci denuo.*

55. **praevaricatores eius:** *praevaricator* originally meant an advocate found guilty of collusion with the opposing counsel (cf. Cic. *De Part. Orat.* 36, 126). In ecclesiastical Latin it is applied to the sinner who is unfaithful to his obligations to God, being a stronger term than *peccator.* Cf. Hier. *In Ezech.* 4, 15 (*habitatores Ierusalem*), *non peccatores, sicut ceterae gentes, sed praevaricatores exstiterunt: aliud est enim negligere quod ignores, aliud contemnere quod colueris.* For the expression, cf. Rom. 2, 25, *circumcisio quidem prodest, si legem observes; si autem praevaricator legis sis, circumcisio tua praeputium facta est.*

56. **illorum . . . illius:** = *horum . . . illius.* Cf. Ch. 4, N. 17.

57. **iudicaberis:** cf. Rom. 2, 12, *quicumque in lege peccaverunt, per legem iudicabuntur.*

58. **coniungere bonis:** *coniungere* in the meaning of 'to keep close to,' 'to associate with,' is a favorite verb in Scripture. Cf. Ecclus. 2, 3, *coniungere deo, et sustine;* 27, 18, *dilige proximum, et coniungere fide.* No one knew better than Augustine the power of good example. He is forever exhorting the catechumens to associate with the good. Cf. *Serm.* 223, 1; *Serm.* 224, 1; 228, 2.

59. **erubescet:** cf. Ps. 24, 2, *deus meus in te confido, non erubescam.*

60. **vel tibi comitantur:** *comitari* takes the dative three times in Cicero when used metaphorically, in each case the subject being an abstract noun (cf. *Tusc.* 5, 68; 5, 100; *Rep.* 2, 44). When, however, *comitari* is used literally (as here) in classical Latin, it regularly takes the accusative. In p. c. Latin, even when used literally, it frequently takes the dative. Cf. Hier. *Ep.* 22, 17, *Christi comitata vestigiis.* Cf. K. S. 1, 299.

61. **spem tuam collocare debes:** cf. Ps. 77, 7, *ut ponant in Deo spem suam.*

62. **securus es enim de deo, quia non mutatur:** cf. Malachias, 3, 6, *ego enim dominus et non mutor;* Hebr. 1, 12, *et velut amictum mutabis eos, et mutabuntur; tu autem idem ipse es, et anni tui non deficient.*

63. **de homine autem nemo prudenter securus est:** cf. Ps. 117, 8, *bonum est confidere in domino, quam confidere in homine;* Ierem. 17, 5, *maledictus homo qui confidit in homine; benedictus vir qui confidit in domino.*

64. **ut illud deus iubeat:** cf. Matth. 5, 43, *audistis quia dictum est: Diliges proximum tuum.*

65. **pro nomine Christi passus:** cf. Ch. 10, Note 3. For the expression, cf. Act. 5, 41, *et illi quidem ibant gaudentes a conspectu concilii, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Iesu contumeliam pati;* id. 15, 26, *qui tradiderunt animas suas pro nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi;* Damasus, *Epigrammata,* 58, *Christi . . . pro nomine passi.* For the construction, cf. Ambr. *Ep.* 21, 8, *pro Christo patiar;* id. *Ep.* 29, 1, *non solum ut Christum annuntiarent, sed etiam pro illo paterentur.*

66. **nec a bona via deviaveris:** for the expression *bona via,* cf. 1 Reg. 12, 23, *et docebo vos viam bonam et rectam.* **deviaveris:** p. c.; cf. Exod. 23, 2, *ut a vero devies;* Macrob. *Somn. Scip.* 22, *si a medio deviaveris.* The usual classical expression is *declinare de via.* Cf. Cic. *De Sen.* 17, 61, *declinandum de via sit.*

67. **maiorem mercedem:** cf. Matth. 25, 29, *omni enim habenti dabitur, et abundabit: ei autem, qui non habet, et quod videtur habere, auferetur ab eo;* Apoc. 22, 11, *qui in sordibus est, sordescat adhuc; et qui iustus est, iustificetur adhuc . . . ecce venio cito, et merces mea mecum est.*

68. **ut non . . . permittat:** = *ne . . . permittat.* On the use of negative result clauses for negative purpose clauses, cf. Ch. 2, N. 18. For the Scripture reference, cf. 1 Cor. 10, 13, *fidelis autem Deus est, qui non patietur vos tentari supra id quod potestis.*

69. **ultra vires tuas:** for the expression, cf. Iuv. 3, 180, *hic ultra vires habitus nitor.*

CHAPTER 26.

(50) *The candidate is now to be initiated into the catechumenate with the usual questions and ceremonies.*

(51) *A shorter form of instruction.*

1. **interrogandus est an haec credat atque observare desideret:** in classical Latin the substitution of the particle *an* for *num* in indirect questions is confined, for the most part, to such stereotyped expressions as *nescio an, haud scio an, dubito an, dubium est an.* In p. c. Latin the use of *an* was widely extended, being frequently substituted for *num* or *utrum.* Cf. S. S. 518, 283; Riemann, 287, 173. Augustine is most probably quoting the exact words of an early liturgical formula. A profession of faith was required of all candidates before their admission to the catechumenate; this profession of faith took the form of question and answer. A relic of such interrogatory liturgical formulae is seen in the questions still put to the one to be baptized or, in the case of an infant, to the sponsors. Cf. *Rituale Romanum, Ordo Baptismi: Quid petis ab Ecclesia Dei? Fidem. Fides, quid tibi praestat? Vitam aeternam . . . Credis in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, Creatorem coeli et terrae? Credo. . . .* ; cf. *Liturgia Rom. vetus* (Venet. 1748), 1, 533, *Ordo ad catechumenum ex pagano faciendum: gentilem hominem cum susceperis, imprimis catechizas eum divinis sermonibus et das ei monita, quemadmodum post cognitam veritatem vivere debeat. Post haec facis eum catechumenum: exsufflas in faciem eius et facis ei crucem in fronte; imponis manum super caput eius his verbis: accipe.* Cf. *Apostolic Const.* 1-8; Tert. *De Baptismo,* 18. On the liturgical and disciplinary questions put to candidates for baptism in the early Church, cf. Schermann, *Allgemeine Kirchenordnung des II Jh.,* in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums,* 3. Erg. Bd. 1 (1914), pp.

61-64. The question may be asked whether the method of question and answer introduced by Dederich in his catechism called *Christenspiegel* (A. D. 1470), popularized by Luther in his famous *Enchiridion* (A. D. 1529), and commonly employed in our catechisms today, can be traced back to this treatise of St. Augustine. In reply it must be said that the original meaning of κατηχεῖν, κατηχίζειν was to instruct orally (cf. Ch. 1, N. 5). There is no evidence from the etymological history of this word to show that questions and answers were considered an essential element in catechetical instruction. As to the practical use of the word, there can likewise be no doubt that catechesis consisted essentially in oral instruction. For in the eyes of the Church the *rudes* were dumb, their one concern being to hear and learn the truths of revelation which, from the very fact that they were revealed, could not admit of Socratic discussion. These *rudes* became "oral," only when they answered the questions of the profession of faith put to them before their formal admission to the catechumenate. Inasmuch as this profession of faith was called a catechesis, the notion gradually became current that all catechesis consisted in instructing by means of question and answer. That this notion was not universal, however, is evident from the fact that Augustine did not hesitate to call his treatise on instruction a catechesis, although the only questions found in it are those used *as aids* in instructing (cf. Ch. 13, N. 4), not as a method of instruction. The only connection, therefore, between this treatise and modern catechisms, as regards the use of the question and answer method, is that it was from the reading of the liturgical questions used in the profession of faith and cited in the present passage by Augustine, that Dederich, Luther, *et al.*, got the notion of applying to the teaching of Christian doctrine the method of question and answer, which in the early Church had been restricted to the liturgical profession of faith. It may be, too, that Augustine's insistence on the pedagogical value of questions *as aids* in catechizing induced them to go farther, and employ the question as a direct method of imparting religious instruction. For, as Zezschwitz, 2, 2, 245, observes, "*Die Geschichte der Katechetik liesse sich als Geschichte des allmählichen Auftretens der verschiedenen Fragearten behandeln.*" Cf. Eberhard, *Augustins Schrift De catechizandis Rudibus,* in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift,* 17 (1906), 4, 278; cf. Hardelund Lüneburg, *Die*

altkirchlichen Katechesen und was wir aus ihnen lernen, in *Katechetische Zeitschrift* (6 Jahrgang, Heft 1, 26).

1ª. **utique:** for the use of *utique* here, cf. Ch. 6, N. 4.

2. **de sacramento sane quod accipit:** the Benedictine editors conjecture *salis* for *sane,* which conjecture I have followed in my translation. From the context it is abundantly clear that the reference is solely to the administering of salt to the catechumen and not to the other two initiatory rites which consisted in the insufflation with a formulary of exorcism and the signing with the cross on the forehead (cf. Ch. 8, N. 3). When, for instance, in *Conf.* 8, 4, he refers to the initiatory rites, he uses the plural: *primis institutionum sacramentis;* if therefore he uses the singular here it is because he is referring to one particular ceremony. Moreover, when he writes: *nec sic habendam esse illam speciem benedictione sanctificatam, quemadmodum habetur in usu quolibet* ("and that he must not consider that outward sign when hallowed by a blessing as that in every-day use"), the reference is obviously to salt and not to the other two rites, namely, the insufflation and signing with the cross. The salt was exorcized before being administered to the catechumen. For this blessing, cf. *Rituale Romanum, Ordo Baptismi: Exorcizo te, creatura salis in nomine Dei Patris omnipotentis. . . . Proinde rogamus te, domine Deus noster, ut haec creatura salis in nomine Trinitatis efficiatur salutare sacramentum ad effugandum inimicum.* The administering of salt is regularly referred to as a *sacramentum;* cf. the formula in the *Gelasian Sacramentary: ut haec creatura salis in nomine trinitatis efficiatur salutare sacramentum ad effugandum diabolum;* also *Concilium Carthaginiense* III, 5, (Mansi, Tom. 3, 919), *item placuit ut etiam per sollemnissimos paschales dies sacramentum catechumenis non detur nisi solitum sal . . .* On peculiarities of the African liturgy, cf. W. C. Bishop, *The African Rite,* in *J. Th. S.* 13 (1912), pp. 250-277. Augustine, moreover, has the seasoning effect of salt in mind when he continues: *dicendum etiam quid significet et sermo ille quem audivit, quid in illo condiat.* **accipit:** this is a liturgical expression used in the initiatory rites; cf. *Rituale Romanum, Ordo Baptismi: Accipe signum crucis,* etc. *Accipe sal sapientiae,* etc. On these initiatory rites, cf. Duchesne, 297.

3. **signacula:** p. c. in its meaning here of 'symbol' or 'sign.' Cf. Rom. 4, 11, *et signum accepit circumcisionis, signaculum iustitiae fidei.* **signaculum:** the usual translation among ecclesiastical writers for the Greek σφραγίς.

4. **quid significet et sermo ille . . . quid in illo condiat:** the *sermo* is the liturgical form of words pronounced by the priest as he puts the salt in the mouth of the catechumen. Cf. *Rituale Romanum, Ordo Baptismi: accipe sal sapientiae: propitiatio sit tibi in vitam aeternam.* **quid in illo condiat:** *in illo* = *in illo sermone.* Salt is used for preserving, purifying, cleansing; hence its symbolical meaning. Cf. Matth. 5, 13, *vos estis sal terrae. Quod si sal evanuerit, in quo salietur;* Orig. *in Ezech. Hom.* 6, 6, *grande opus est insaliri. Qui sale conditur, gratia plenus est;* Aug. *Conf.* 1, 11, *et signabar iam signo crucis et condiebar eius sale; Serm. Dom. in Monte* 1, 6, *quorum condiendis et exstinguendis putoribus apostolicum salem dominus misit.* For other references, cf. F. J. Dölger, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual,* in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums,* 3, 1-2 (Paderborn, 1909, p. 92). For the use and symbolism of salt among the Greeks and Romans, cf. Schleiden, *Das Salz, seine Geschichte, seine Symbolik und seine Bedeutung im Menschenleben* (Leipzig, 1875).

5. **similitudinem gerit:** for the expression, cf. Cic. *De Off.* 3, 4, 16, *ne illi quidem septem . . . similitudinem quandam gerebant.*

5*. **geminam . . . dilectionem:** that is, love of God and love of our neighbour. Cf. Matth. 12, 30-31.

6. **in illa sancta civitate . . . ut de nullius hominis correctione desperet:** cf. Apoc. 21, 2 *et ego Ioannes vidi sanctam civitatem Ierusalem novam.* **ut de nullius . . . desperet:** = *ne de ullius . . . desperet.* Cf. Ch. 2 N. 18.

7. **nisi ut adducatur ad paenitentiam:** cf. Rom. 2, 4, *ignoras quoniam benignitas dei ad paenitentiam te adducit.*

8. **quid res ipsa . . . moneat:** a proverbial expression appearing in many forms. Cf. Plaut. *Aulul.* 421, *res ipsa testis est;* Cic. *Pro Mil.* 20, 53, *res loquitur ipsa;* Otto, 297; M. C. Sutphen, *Further Collection of Latin Proverbs,* in *A. J. P.* 22 (1901), 366.

9. **quid auditorum praesentia non solum ferre, sed etiam desiderare se ostendat:** *auditorum praesentia* = *auditores praesentes.*

The use of *praesentia* in the meaning of local presence is restricted in classical Latin to a few phrases; in all other cases the verb *adesse* or the participle *praesens* are used. (Cf. Cic. *In Verr.* 4, 25, 56, *hominem in foro iubet sellam ponere et facere anulum omnibus praesentibus* = 'in the presence of all.') The use of *praesentia* was widely extended in p. c. Latin. Cf. K. S. 2, 363. The wise catechist will study his audience to find out what their mental capacity is, and what their interests are, so that he may be able to accommodate his instructions accordingly.

10. **omnia vero visibilia transeunt:** cf. 1 Ioan. 2, 17, *et mundus transit, et concupiscentia eius.*

11. **omnis huius saeculi pompa et deliciae et curiositas interibunt:** the Vulgate version of 1 Ioan. 2, 16 reads: *omne, quod est in mundo, concupiscentia carnis est, et concupiscentia oculorum, et superbia vitae.* The Old Latin version reads: *omne quod in mundo est, desiderium est carnis, desiderium oculorum et ambitio saeculi.* Augustine, in his enumeration of these concupiscences in the present passage, places the third first: *omnis huius saeculi pompa* (which corresponds to the Vulgate *superbia vitae* and the Old Latin *ambitio saeculi;* the Greek text reads ἡ ἀλαζονία τοῦ βίου). This *pompa* consists in the love of display by means of external possessions. Cf. J. B. Mayor's note on Epistle of St. James, 4, 16 (p. 152), where he quotes Aristotle, *Eth. N.* 4, 7, 2. **deliciae:** = the Vulgate *concupiscentia carnis* and the Old Latin *desiderium carnis* (ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς σαρκὸς). By this concupiscence is meant all that appeals to man as gratifying the flesh. For *deliciae* in this meaning, cf. Apoc. 18, 9, *et flebunt, et plangent se super illam reges terrae, qui cum illa fornicati sunt, et in deliciis vixerunt.* **curiositas:** = the Vulgate *concupiscentia oculorum* and the Old Latin *desiderium oculorum* (ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν). By this desire is meant all that appeals to man as gratifying his sense of vision. Augustine is accustomed to translate *concupiscentia oculorum* of St. John's Epistle by *curiositas.* Cf. Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* 8, 13, *haec autem tria genera vitiorum, id est voluptas carnis, et superbia et curiositas omnia peccata concludunt;* cf. also Aug. *In Ep. Ioann. in Parthos, Tract.* 2, 13, 14, *et desiderium oculorum: desiderium oculorum dicit omnem curiositatem. Iam quam late patet curiositas? Ipsa in spectaculis, in theatris, in sacra-*

mentis diaboli, in magicis artibus, in maleficiis ipsa est curiositas . . . tria sunt ista, et nihil invenis unde tentetur cupiditas humana, nisi aut desiderio carnis, aut desiderio oculorum, aut ambitione saeculi. Curiositas is used in a good sense in Cicero; cf. *Ep. ad Att.* 11, 12, 2, *sum in curiositate* ὀξύτεινος. It is a word of bad repute in the one place in which it occurs in Scripture; cf. Num. 4, 20, *alii nulla curiositate videant quae sunt in sanctuario.* In this latter sense it is found both in patristic and mediaeval writers. Cf. Tert. *De Praesc. Haer.* 7, *nobis curiositate opus non est post Christum Iesum;* id. *Apol.* 25, *nam etsi a Numa concepta est curiositas superstitiosa* (on which see Mayor's and Souter's note, p. 335); Sanct. Bernard., *De Gradibus Humilitatis,* 10, *primus itaque superbiae gradus est curiositas;* Thomas à Kempis, *De Imit. Christi,* 4, 7, 2, *tam curiosus ad nova audienda et pulchra intuenda.* On the use of *curiositas* in the plural, cf. Ch. 25, N. 34.

12. **interitum:** here used in its Scriptural meaning of 'eternal death and destruction.' Cf. Philip. 3, 18, *quorum finis interitus;* 1 Tim. 6, 9 . . . *quae mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem.*

13. **a quo interitu . . . deus misericors volens homines liberare, si sibi ipsi non sint inimici:** God in His mercy wills to save all men unless, being their own worst enemies, they will to be damned. **si sibi ipsi non sint inimici:** the necessary restriction to God's will to save. Cf. 1 Tim. 2, 4, *qui* (*Deus*) *omnes homines vult salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire.* This passage from the *De cat. Rud.* is frequently cited in demonstrating God's antecedent will to save men. The *locus classicus* for Augustine's teaching on this point is *De Spiritu et Littera,* 58, *vult autem Deus omnes homines salvos fieri et in agnitionem veritatis venire, non sic tamen ut eis adimat liberum arbitrium quo vel bene vel male utentes iustissime iudicentur.*

14. **resistant misericordiae:** note the oxymoron in the collocation of ideas. Augustine is fond of such expressions. Cf. *Conf.* 5, 2, 2, *subtrahentes se lenitati tuae; id.* 10, 27, 38, *et exarsi in pacem tuam.*

15. **misit unigenitum filium . . . per quod condidit omnia:** cf. 1 Ioan. 4, 9, *in hoc apparuit caritas dei in nobis, quoniam*

filium suum unigenitum misit deus in mundum; cf. Ioan. 1, 3, *omnia per ipsum facta sunt.*

16. **manens quidem in divinitate sua, et non recedens a patre:** Christ by becoming man did not cease to be God. For the thought, cf. Aug. *Serm.* 184, 1, *in homine ad nos venisse, et a patre non recessisse; Serm.* 186, 1, *fieri potuit, manens quod erat; Serm.* 186, 2, *confitendum est igitur, eum qui Filius Dei erat, ut de virgine Maria nasceretur, assumpta forma servi filius hominis factum, quod erat manentem, quod non erat, assumentem: esse incipientem quo minor est Patre, et semper manentem in eo quod unum sunt ipse et Pater; Ep.* 170, 9, *homo assumtus est a deo, non in homine consumtus est deus; Tract. in Ev. Ioan.* 69, 3, *scio quidem quod te exinanisti, sed quia formam servi accepisti, non quia formam dei vel ad quam redires dimisisti, vel quam reciperes amisisti; et tamen venisti . . . quomodo, nisi in carne? Per hanc venisti manens ubi eras, per hanc rediisti non relinquens quo veneras; Conf.* 4, 12, 19, *illuc enim abscessit, unde numquam recessit;* Athanas. *De Inc.* 17, 5, καὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν τοῦτο ἦν, ὅτι καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐπολιτεύετο, καὶ ὡς λόγος τὰ πάντα ἐζωογόνει, καὶ ὡς Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρὶ συνῆν; Cyril of Alexandria, *Ep. ad Nest.* 3; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 29, 19; Leo Mag. *Serm. in Nativitate Dom.* 2, 2, *de caelesti sede descendens, et a paterna gloria non recedens.* Cf. Dreves, *Anal. Hymn.* 46, No. 110, p. 162, *lux et imago Patris per sacrae viscera matris ad non accessit, sed non a Patre recessit;* J. Viteau, *Passion des Saints Écaterine et Pierre* (Paris, 1897, p. 53), ἀνῆλθεν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ὅθεν οὐδαμῶς ἀπελέλειπτο, κἂν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὤφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη. Cf. the Eucharistic Hymn of St. Thomas Aquinas, *Verbum Supernum prodiens:* | *Nec Patris linquens dexteram.* It may be observed that later on in Hilarius Pict. *manere* = *esse.* Cf. *De Trinit.* 9, 39, *esse autem in forma Dei non alia intelligentia est quam in Dei manere natura.* The explanation of this use of *manere* is most probably that the early Christian writers, feeling the need of a present participle to take the place of the present participle of *esse,* which is wanting, employed *manens,* just as frequently they employed *constitutus.* On this phase of the Incarnation, see Westcott's note on Hebr. 10, 20.

17. **nec in aliquo:** = *nec in ulla re.* Cf. Ch. 18, N. 31.

18. **hominem:** = 'humanity,' 'human nature.' Cf. Ch. 20, N. 43.

19. **quemadmodum per unum hominem,** etc.: cf. Rom. 5, 12, *sicut per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intravit,* etc.; Aug. *In Ev. Ioan.* 3, 12, *cecidit primus homo; et omnes qui de illo nati sunt, de illo traxerunt concupiscentiam carnis; oportebat, ut nasceretur alius homo qui nullam traxit concupiscentiam. Homo et homo: homo ad mortem, et homo ad vitam;* cf. Aug. *In 1 Ioan.* 4, 11, *duas nativitates attendite, Adam et Christum: duo sunt homines, sed unus ipsorum homo homo, alter ipsorum homo deus: per hominem hominem, peccatores sumus: per hominem deum, iustificamur. Nativitas illa deiecit ad mortem; ista nativitas erexit ad vitam.*

20. **quia consensit mulieri suae seductae a diabolo:** cf. 1 Tim. 2, 14, *Et Adam non est seductus; mulier autem seducta in praevaricatione fuit.*

21. **deletis omnibus peccatis praeteritis:** cf. Col. 2, 14, *delens quod adversus nos erat chirographum decreti, quod erat contrarium nobis;* Act. 3, 19, *paenitemini igitur, et convertimini ut deleantur peccata vestra.*

22. **in aeternam vitam:** for the expression, cf. Aug. *Serm. ad Catechumenos,* 2, 3, *in vitam aeternam.* From Augustine's *De Fide et Symbolo* and *Sermo ad Catechumenos* has been reconstructed a creed which is called St. Augustine's Creed and which in its phraseology resembles the Nicene Creed. For the text of this creed, see Maclear, *An Introduction to the Creeds* (London, 1911, p. 21).

CHAPTER 27.

(53) *The types and prophecies of the Old Testament find their fulfilment in Christ.*

(54) *The tribulations of the just, the doctrine of the resurrection, the last judgment; as other prophecies have come to pass, so shall these.*

(55) *The catechumen is warned to flee temptation not only*

from those without, but also from those within the Church. He should associate with the good. The help given by the Holy Spirit.

1. **omnia enim quae nunc vides . . . praedictum est Abrahae fideli servo dei, uni homini:** this section is typical of Augustine as regards both the argument and the style. Cf. with this section the following passage taken from a sermon of St. Augustine recently discovered by Dom Morin (*Revue bénédictine,* 36 (1924), No. 2-3, 197): *Ista omnia, quae vides, non erant. Christianus populus toto orbe terrarum aliquando non erat: in prophetia legebatur, in terra non videbatur; modo autem et legitur, et videtur . . . quomodo ergo, carissimi, non erat natus Christus de virgine: promissus est; non fecerat mirabilia: promissa sunt, et fecit; nondum erat passus: promissum est et factum est; non resurrexerat: praedictum est, et impletum est; in caelum non ascenderat: ante dictum est, et impletum est; nomen eius per totum mundum non erat: praedictum est, et impletum est; idola deleta et fracta non erant: et factum est; haeretici impugnantes ecclesiam non erant: praedictum est, et impletum est; sic dies iudicii nondum est, sed quia praedictum est, implebitur.* This section (53) on the triumph and progress of Christianity is frequently quoted. Cf. Tertullian's famous description of the growth of Christianity in the *Apol.* 37, *hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia . . .* ; cf. Aug. *De vera Relig.* 4, 6. **Abrahae:** some Hebrew proper names in *-am* are declined in the genitive and dative (cf. Kaulen, 125, 4). **fideli servo dei:** cf. Galat. 3, 9, *igitur qui ex fide sunt, benedicentur cum fideli Abraham.* **uni homini:** cf. Galat. 3, 16, *Abrahae dictae sunt promissiones, et semini eius. Non dicit: Et seminibus, quasi in multis: sed quasi in uno.*

1ª. **in cruce:** cf. Zach. 12, 10, *et aspicient ad me, quem confixerunt;* Ps. 21, 17-18, *foderunt manus meas et pedes meos: Dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea;* Isa. 53, 4, *vere languores nostros ipse tulit, etc.*

2. **passurus esset ab eodem populo Iudaeorum:** *passurus esset* is here used in its ecclesiastical meaning to designate the sufferings and death of Christ. Cf. Nicene Creed, *passus et sepultus est.*

ab: for the use of this preposition after *pati,* cf. Ch. 17, N. 32. **populo Iudaeorum:** = *populo Iudaeo.* In classical Latin, *populus* is usually followed by an adjective denoting the nation, and not by a genitive substantive. Cf. Cic. *Philipp.* 5, 4, 12, *gemente populo Romano.* Biblical Latin, on the contrary, seems to prefer the genitive of definition. Cf. 1 Mac. 12, 6, *populus Iudaeorum,* and so *passim.*

3. **et sic est factum:** 'and so it came to pass.' The use of the verb *fieri* in this meaning is a Hebraism which passed over into Greek and thence into Latin. Cf. Matth. 5, 18, *donec omnia fiant* (ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται) ; Matth. 24, 6, *oportet enim haec fieri* (δεῖ γὰρ γενέσθαι) ; Matth. 1, 22, *hoc autem totum factum est* (τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν).

4. **adscendit in caelum:** cf. St. Augustine's Creed: *adscendit in caelum.* The Nicene Creed has the identical phraseology in this article: *ascendit in caelum;* the Apostles' Creed, on the contrary, reads *ascendit ad caelos;* for the Scriptural reference, cf. Act. 1, 8, *et cum haec dixisset, videntibus illis, elevatus est; et nubes suscepit eum ab oculis eorum.*

5. **per universum orbem terrarum:** *universus* is found much more frequently in Biblical than in classical Latin, and sometimes in passages where classical Latin would call for *totus* or *omnis.* Cf. Luc. 2, 1, *universus orbis;* Matth. 24, 14, *et praedicabitur hoc evangelium regni in universo orbe.*

6. **sanctorum:** cf. Ch. 23, N. 35[a].

7. **martyria passionesque:** *martyrium* is p. c. Cf. Tert. *De Spectac.* 29, *ad martyrii palmas gloriare;* Ambr. *De Off.* 2, 28, *sacri martyrii corona.* The word *passio,* even without a qualifying genitive was used originally of Christ's passion (cf. Act. 1, 3, *quibus et praebuit seipsum vivum post passionem suam*) ; later on its use (singular or plural) was extended to the sufferings and death of the martyrs (cf. Watson, 248, 290) and then, by a very natural development, to the narrative of these sufferings (cf. *Passio Cypriani*).

8. **quando adhuc nomen eius et latebat gentes:** *adhuc* = *etiam tum.* Cf. Ch. 4, N. 2. When *latere* is used personally, as here, in Cicero and Caesar it takes no object, but in the poets of

the classical period and in p. c. writers it is found sometimes with the dative, sometimes with the accusative. Cf. K. S. 2, 8.

9. **in virtutibus miraculorum eius:** for the use of the preposition *in* here, cf. Ch. 17, N. 19. I believe that this phrase had best be taken as a pleonasm and translated 'by his miracles.' Watson, 290, cites similar otiose expressions from Cyprian: e. g. *confessionis martyria, virtutum martyria.* The singular *virtus* is used in p. c. Latin in the meaning of *vis, efficacia.* Cf. Hier. *Ioan.* 34, *sed vivit virtute dei* (cf. our English expression 'by virtue of'). If, therefore, Augustine meant 'by the power of his miracles,' he would most probably have written *in virtute miraculorum eius.* The plural *virtutes* has regularly the meaning of *miracula* in p. c. Latin. Cf. Matth. 13, 58, *et non fecit ibi virtutes multas.*

10. **schismata et haereses:** cf. Matth. 24, 5, *multi enim venient in nomine meo.*

11. **per loca:** the preposition *per* is here used distributively. Cf. Ch. 24, N. 9.

12. **numquid . . . non:** = *nonne,* and so frequently in Biblical Latin and in ecclesiastical writers. Cf. 1 Cor. 11, 12, *numquid domos non habetis ad manducandum et bibendum.* For *numquid* = *num,* cf. Ch. 25, N. 7.

13. **manifestum est quia . . . ventura sunt:** in classical Latin the impersonal *manifestum est* is always followed by the infinitive with subject accusative construction. Cf. Kühner-Stegmann 2, 1, 126.

14. **sicut ista praedicta venerunt, sic etiam illa ventura sunt:** *ista . . . illa:* = *haec . . . illa.* Cf. Ch. 4, N. 17. The more usual expression would have been *praedicta evenerunt . . . sic . . . eventura sunt.* In Ch. 27, S. 53, Augustine himself writes: *sic evenerunt ut praedicta sunt;* cf. also Cic. *De Divinat.* 2, 24, 52, *quota enim quaeque res evenit praedicta ab istis;* Deut. 18, 22, *quod in nomine domini propheta ille praedixerit, et non evenerit;* 4 Reg. 7, 20, *evenit ergo ei sicut praedictum fuerat.*

15. **ipsius ecclesiae paleas:** bad Catholics and schismatics. The metaphor, of course, is derived from Matth. 3, 12.

15ª. **in momento:** cf. Ch. 25, N. 8.

16. **regnaturi:** the adjectival use of the future participle becomes rather common in p. c. Latin. Cf. Lane, 2283.

17. **in eodem corpore:** in Ch. 25, S. 46 (cf. Ch. 25, N. 25) Augustine writes *numquid ergo difficile est deo . . . reddere istam quantitatem corporis tui sicut erat.* In the present passage, he is even more explicit about the identity of the resurrection body. In the next world the body, in which we have done good or evil in this life, shall furnish the 'material' for our reward or punishment. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 48, *Si quaecumque ratio praeest animarum humanarum reciprocandarum in corpora, cur non in eandem substantiam redeant, cum hoc sit restitui, id esse quod fuerat? . . . Certe quia ratio restitutionis destinatio iudicii est, necessario idem ipse qui fuerat exhibebitur, ut boni seu contrarii meriti iudicium a deo referat. Ideoque repraesentabuntur et corpora, quia neque pati quicquam potest anima sola sine materia stabili, id est carne, et quod omnino de iudicio dei pati debent animae, non sine carne meruerunt intra quam omnia egerunt;* Tert. *De Resurr. Carn.* 14; Westcott, *Gospel of the Resurrection* (London, 1884, Ch. 2).

18. **angelicam:** Cf. Iudic. 13, 6, *vir dei venit ad me habens vultum angelicum.*

18ª. **aequales angelis dei:** cf. Luc. 20, 36, *neque enim ultra mori poterunt: aequales enim angelis sunt.*

19. **sine aliquo defectu et sine aliquo fastidio:** = *sine ullo defectu et sine ullo fastidio.* Cf. Ch. 1, N. 21.

20. **in illo et de illo:** figure of polyptoton.

21. **quali:** contracted into the case of its correlative antecedent, *tali.* Cf. Isa. 64, 4; 1 Cor. 2, 29.

22. **quia diabolus quaerit:** cf. 1 Pet. 5, 8, *sobrii estote, et vigilate, quia adversarius vester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit, quaerens quem devoret.*

23. **ut . . . non . . . seducat:** = *ne . . . seducat.* Cf. Ch. 2, N. 18.

24. **voluptatibus ventris et gutturis:** for the phrase, cf. Cic. *Pro Caelio,* 19, 14, *quod vitium ventris et gurgitis non modo non minuit aetas hominibus, sed etiam auget;* Aug. *De Bono coniugali,* 16, *in luxuria ventris et gutturis.*

25. **in aliqua vita:** = *in ulla vita.* Cf. Ch. 1, N. 21.

26. **non eos imiteris:** supply *ut* from above: *ut . . . non eos imiteris* = *ne . . . eos imiteris.* Cf. Ch. 2, N. 18.

27. **quos inventurus es facile, si et tu talis fueris:** 'if you are good yourself, you will keep good company.' Cf. Cic. *De Am.* 22, 82, *par est autem primum ipsum esse virum bonum, tum alterum similem sui quaerere; De Sen.* 3, 7, *pares autem vetere proverbio cum paribus facillime congregantur;* Aug. *Serm.* 228, 2, *estote tales, et invenietis tales. Omnis res similis ad similem cohaeret: si perditus vixeris, non se tibi iunget nisi perditus. Incipe bene vivere, et videbis quanti socii te circumdent, de quanta fraternitate gratuleris.*

28. **colatis et diligatis:** for the phrase, cf. Isa. 56, 6, *ut colant eum, et diligant nomen eius.*

29. **totum praemium nostrum ipse erit:** cf. Gen. 15, 1, *noli timere, Abram, ego protector tuus sum, et merces tua magna nimis.*

30. **et veritas et sanctitas et iustitia et caritas:** figure of polysyndeton. For this enumeration of virtues, cf. Ephes. 4, 24, *creatus est in iustitia et sanctitate veritatis.*

31. **non quemadmodum sunt ista in hominibus:** the candidate is to regard the *perfectiones mixtae* (the attributes common to God and man), not as they are found in man, limited and imperfect, but as they are found in God, that is, in their highest perfection. Cf. the theological axiom: *perfectiones simplices sunt in deo formaliter, mixtae autem tantum virtualiter et eminenter.*

32. **in ipso fonte incorruptibilis et incommutabilis sapientiae: incorruptibilis:** p. c. Cf. Rom. 1, 23, *et mutaverunt gloriam incorruptibilis dei.* **incommutabilis:** this adjective occurs once in Cicero (*De Rep.* 2, 57, *non posse hunc incommutabilem reipublicae conservari statum*). For the expression, cf. Ecclus. 1, 5, *fons sapientiae verbum dei in excelsis;* Baruc. 3, 12, *dereliquisti fontem sapientiae.*

32ª. **mediator:** cf. 1 Tim. 2, 5, *unus enim Deus, unus et mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus.*

33. **etiamsi intrent:** the prevailing mood in classical Latin with *etiamsi* and *etsi* is the indicative.

34. **non . . . arbitreris . . . regnum caelorum:** *non . . . arbitreris* = *ne arbitreris.* Cf. Ch. 25, N. 54. For the expression *regnum caelorum,* cf. Matth. 5, 3, *quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum.*

35. **in melius:** comparative expressions such as *in melius, in peius, in mollius, in maius,* occur from the time of Sallust and Livy on. They are particularly frequent in Tacitus and his later imitators. Cf. S. S. 609, 3.

36. **homines ergo bonos imitare, malos tolera, omnes ama:** note asyndeton. This epigrammatic rule, in which Augustine summarizes the Christian's obligations towards his neighbor, is frequently quoted.

37. **quoniam nescis quid cras futurus sit qui hodie malus est:** there is always the possibility that the sinner will mend his ways. Cf. Horace's philosophy of optimism: *Od.* 2, 10, 16, *non, si male nunc, et olim | sic erit.*

38. **nec . . . ames:** = *neu . . . ames.* The corresponding connective with the subjunctive after a foregoing *ne* or imperative (cf. N. 34 above: *ne . . . arbitreris*) in classical Latin is ordinarily *neu,* though *nec* sometimes occurs (cf. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 1, 9, 19, *recordare nec timueris;* id. *De Off.* 1, 92, *utilem se praebeat nec lubidini pareat*). In p. c. Latin, however, just as *non* was frequently used for *ne* with the subjunctive (cf. Ch. 25, Note 54), so *neque* (= *et non*) came to be used for *neu* (= *et ne*) with the subjunctive. Cf. K. S. 2, 133; Hoppe, 107.

39. **ut apprehendant iustitiam:** for the expression, cf. Ecclus. 27, 9, *si sequaris iustitiam, apprehendes illam.*

40. **tota lex pendet et prophetae:** the Vulgate of Matth. 27, 40, reads, *in his duobus mandatis universa Lex pendet, et Prophetae.* The Old Latin version, which Augustine has in mind here, reads *tota* instead of *universa.* For the wide use of *universus* instead of *totus* in Biblical Latin, cf. Ch. 27, N. 5.

41. **donum . . . spiritum sanctum:** cf. Act. 2, 38, *et accipietis donum spiritus sancti;* cf. Ch. 20, N. 22.

41ª. **deus est: in quo deo:** the repetition of the antecedent with the relative was formerly cited by some scholars as an example

of 'African' exuberance. If this were the case, then Cicero, and particularly Caesar, would be 'African.' Cf. Cic. *Att.* 2, 11, 1; *In Cat.* 1, 3, 7; *In Caecil.* 1, 2; *Pro Mil.* 20, 53; *Pro Rosc. Am.* 26, 72. In a single section of *B. G.* 1, 6, we read: *erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus . . . diem dicunt, qua die.* For an account of 'African Latin,' cf. Appendix.

42. **per terrores insultationum et dolorum et ipsius mortis:** the plural form *insultationes* is peculiar to Augustine. In Biblical Latin many abstract nouns, which in classical Latin are found only in the singular, are used in the plural. Cf. Salonius, 76. On the temptations and threats of the devil, cf. 1 Cor. 7, 5; Eph. 2, 2; 6, 12; Apoc. 20, 7. On the power of the devil to inflict even death, cf. Tert. *De Anim.* 57, *pluribus notum est daemoniorum quoque opera et immaturas et atroces effici mortes, quas incursibus deputant;* cf. Lact. *Inst. Div.* 5, 22, *et quia per se nocere his nihil possunt, publicis eos odiis persequuntur quos sibi graves sentiunt, exercentque saevitiam quam violentissime possunt, ut aut eorum fidem minuant per dolorem, aut, si id efficere non quiverint, auferant omnino de terra, ne sint qui possint eorum nequitiam coercere.*

43. **quidquid autem homo passus fuerit,** etc.: for the thought, cf. Ephes. 6, 5, *scientes quoniam unusquisque quodcumque fecerit bonum hoc recipiet a Domino, sive servus sive liber;* 1 Cor. 4, 12, *persecutionem patimur et sustinemus.*

44. **dabitur . . . damnabitur:** figure of paronomasia.

45. **quod si cesserit diabolo:** "but if he gives way to the devil." Christian writers, when speaking of our spiritual warfare, frequently make use of military terms. For an interesting discussion of this subject, cf. Harnack, *Militia Christi: die Christliche Religion und der Soldatenstand in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig, 1905).

46. **opera misericordiae cum pia humilitate impetrant a domino:** cf. Ecclus. 3, 33, *et eleemosyna resistit peccatis;* id. 29, 15, *conclude eleemosynam in corde pauperis, et haec pro te exorabit ab omni malo;* Cypr. *De Opere et Eleemosyna.* **humilitate:** cf. Iacob. 4, 6, *Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam.* Augustine improves every opportunity of mentioning the two great

virtues, upon which he has insisted so much throughout this treatise: charity and humility.

47. **ut non permittat servos suos tentari plus quam possunt sustinere:** cf. 1 Cor. 10, 13, *tentatio vos non apprehendat, nisi humana. Fidelis autem deus est, qui non patietur vos tentari supra id quod potestis.* **permittat:** both the Vulgate and the Old Latin version read *patietur.* Though in this passage and likewise in *De cat. Rud.* Ch. 26, 49, and *Enarr. in Ps.* 61, 20, Augustine uses the verb *permittere,* in *Conf.* 10, 5, 7, we read *qui nos non sinis temptari.* The use of the verb *permittere* in the text here, therefore, points to a loose reminiscence rather than to another version. **permittat . . . tentari:** *permittere* with the infinitive is rare but classical. Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 5, 9, 22, *ut iam ipsis iudicibus . . . coniecturam facere permittam.* On the value of temptation in the spiritual life, cf. Aug. *In Ps.* 60, 3, *vita nostra in hac peregrinatione non potest esse sine tentatione: qui provectus noster per tentationem nostram fit, nec sibi quisque innotescit nisi tentatus, nec potest coronari nisi vicerit, nec potest vincere nisi certaverit, nec potest certare nisi inimicum et tentationes habuerit.*

ADDITIONAL NOTES

P. 14, title: **Hipponiensis:** following Goldbacher in his critical edition of Augustine's *Epistulae* in the *C. S. E. L.*, I have used the form *Hipponiensis* instead of *Hipponensis*. The evidence for the spelling *Hipponiensis* was set forth by Dr. Souter in a note, *Augustinian Readings in Cicero and Pliny*, in the *Classical Review*, 14 (1900), p. 264. Briefly it is this: (1) Inscriptions: e. g. Dessau, *Inscrip. Lat. Sel.* 1126, 1435; *C. I. L.* VIII. (2) MSS. of Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* at 5, 23, where Maykoff reads *Hipponiensem*. (3) MSS. of Augustine himself: *Ep.* 32, 2; 57, 2; 86; 111, 1; 112, 3; 115; 118, 9; 133, 3; 177, 15; 209, 2 *bis;* 213, 1; 222, 1. (4) While *Hipponensis* also occurs in inscriptions and MSS., it must be regarded as the inferior form, since no one would ever alter a correct *Hipponensis* into *Hipponiensis*, whereas the contrary process is only too easy and natural. (5) Analogous forms: *Carthaginiensis, Atheniensis, Corinthiensis.*

P. 14, l. 2: **usui:** there is an increase in the use of the predicative dative in p. c. Latin and an extension to words not so used in earlier periods. Roby, in his *Latin Grammar* (London, 1903, Part II, Book IV, Pref. lv b), gives a long list of the use of *usui* as a predicative dative in authors up to Suetonius. In most of these references, however, *usui* is modified by an adjective (*magno, maiori, maximo*), though *usui* without a modifier occurs; cf. Cic. *In Verr.* 3, 69, 161, *susceperas enim liberos . . . qui aliquando usui rei publicae possent esse.* For a very complete list of predicative datives in p. c. Latin, cf. J. H. Baxter, *Some Predicative Datives in Late Latin*, in *Bulletin Du Cange* (1925), fasc. II, pp. 85-88.

Ch. 1, N. 8: **apud Carthaginem:** cf. also Rönsch, 391.

Ch. 1, N. 11. For a full account of the development in the meaning of πίστις, cf. William Henry Paine Hatch, *The Pauline Idea of Faith* (*Harvard Theological Studies*, II, Cambridge, 1917); id., *The Idea of Faith in Christian Literature from the Death of Saint Paul to the Close of the Second Century* (*Université de Strasbourg*, Strasbourg, 1925).

Ch. **2**, N. 31: **insinuantur:** for *insinuare* in the meaning of 'to teach' in the Scriptures, cf. Act. 17, 3, *insinuans quia Christum oportuit pati,* where *insinuans* represents the Greek παρατιθέμενος.

P. 20, l. 24: **ad horam:** this expression, which is formed on the analogy of *ad tempus,* is p. c. Cf. the French *tout à l'heure.*

Ch. **3**, N. 8: cf. Dom John Chapman, *Ancient Books and Publishers,* in *The Downside Review* 42 (1924), No. 120, pp. 119-142.

Ch. **4**, N. 13: **faciat . . . frigescere:** the use of *facere* or *dare* with the infinitive in Biblical Latin is in imitation of the Hebrew causative voice.

Ch. **4**, N. 13[a]: **operae pretium:** for the expression, cf. also Cic. *Pro Rosc. Am.* 21, 59. For other parallel cases in Livy, cf. Weissenborn-Müller's edition of Livy.

Ch. **6**, N. 1[a]: in *Serm.* 186, 2, Augustine speaks of the Scriptures as *oracula: non ergo vobis subrepat quorumdam sententia minus attentorum in regulam fidei et in Scripturarum oracula divinarum.*

P. 34, l. 12: **quorum cibus nugae sunt:** for the thought, cf. Aug. *Conf.* 1, 17, 27, *sed figmentorum poeticorum vestigia errantes sequi cogebamur . . . laudes tuae, domine, laudes tuae per scripturas tuas suspenderent palmitem cordis mei et non raperetur per inania nugarum turpis praeda volatilibus.*

Ch. **7**, N. 11: **quorum perversae turbae:** throughout this treatise Augustine refers to the Donatists, to the Manichaeans, and to the Christian emperors without ever mentioning them by name. This is quite in the manner of Augustine; in the *Confessions* 13, 21, 29, he refers to St. Ambrose's Hymn, *Amore Christi nobilis,* 9, 12, though he does not mention the author: *quibus iam terra non indiget, quamvis piscem manducet levatum de profundo in ea mensa, quam parasti in conspectu credentium.* The hymn in question, 9-12 runs: *hamum profundo merserat,* | *piscatus est Verbum Dei,* | *iactavit undis retia,* | *vitam levavit omnium.* This manner of allusion is derived from the sophistical etiquette of indirect reference. For instances of the same practice in Jerome, cf. Arthur

Stanley Pease, *Jerome and Pagan Literature,* in *T. A. P. A.,* 50 (1919), p. 164, n. 105.

Ch. **8,** N. 17: **opusculorum:** just as *opus* and *opusculum* were used synonymously, so likewise were *liber* and *libellus;* cf. Evan T. Sage, *The Publication of Martial's Poems,* in *T. A. P. A.,* 50 (1919), 168.

Ch. **8,** N. 28: **non idiota, ut aiunt:** for *ut aiunt,* in the meaning of 'as the proverb goes,' cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 2, 44, *facilius est enim currentem, ut aiunt, incitare quam commovere languentem;* id. *Or.* 6, 20, *isque uno tenore, ut aiunt, . . . fluit.*

Ch. **9,** N. 4: **quos cognoverint morum vitia quam verborum amplius devitare:** such expressions as this, quoted out of their context, in which the Christian Fathers seem to depreciate all secular knowledge, are frequently adduced to prove that Christianity was hostile to all learning and science. Professor W. R. Halliday in *The Pagan Background of early Christianity* (London, 1925, pp. 171-172) sums up the case very fairly when he observes: "It is not generally true of the Fathers that they were enemies of learning or science; they were themselves, for the most part, among the learned men of their day. If a Puritan wing of Christianity in extreme reaction against intellectualism preached the complete worthlessness of secular scientific knowledge, an extreme party among the Pagans did much the same. In either case the attitude was prompted by a genuine sense of the spiritual needs of contemporary life and their paramount importance, which lent a real force to their preaching. The perception of this no doubt affected, and legitimately affected, the occasional utterances of the more philosophic preachers, both Pagan and Christian, but it finds expression in impatient overstatements of the moment rather than forms part of the consistent structure of their thought"; see also Arthur Stanley Pease, *The Attitude of Jerome towards Pagan Literature,* in *T. A. P. A.* 50 (1919), pp. 150-167.

Ch. **9,** N. 7: **involuta . . . aperienda:** for the phrase, cf. also Cic. *De Fin.* 1, 30, *occulta quaedam et quasi involuta aperiri.*

Ch. **9,** N. 8. For the employment of allegorical interpretation by the Fathers, cf. also Charles Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria* (Bampton Lectures, 1886, Ch. 4).

P. 44, l. 7: **ut populus ad id quod plane intelligit, dicat amen:** *amen* is a Hebrew word represented in Greek by ἀμήν = *ita est, ita fiat.* The practice of answering Amen at the end of prayers, as a sort of ratification on the part of the faithful of what has been said by the officiating minister, goes back to the Synagogue (Jer. 28, 6; Neh. 5, 13; Num. 5, 22). It passed thence into the Christian Church. Cf. 1 Cor. 14, 16, *quomodo dicet, Amen, super tuam benedictionem? quoniam quid dicas, nescit;* Iustin. Mart. *Apol.* 1, 65, Tert. *De Spectac.* 25; *Constit. Apost.* 8, 13; Ambr. *Enarr. in Ps.* 40, 36; Hier. *Comment. in Gal.* 1, 2, prooem.; Cyril. Hieros. *Catech.* 23, 18; Aug. *De Doctr. Christ.* 2, 11.

P. 44, l. 14: **ne contemnant quod vident:** ' lest they despise what they see' (and do *not* understand). For the thought, cf. Aug. *De Serm. Domini in Monte* 1, 11, *et non reprehendit quod non intelligit;* 2 Pet. 2, 12, *in his quae ignorant blasphemantes.*

Ch. **10,** N. 3: **Christiano nomine:** for the expression, cf. also Tert. *Testim.* 6, *Christianum nomen sapiebas et Christianum nomen persequebaris.*

Ch. **10,** N. 17: **Christianus:** on the history of this word, cf. Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten,* 4th ed. 1, p. 424-428.

Ch. **10,** N. 19: **quaelibet . . . obnulibet:** Lindsay, in his *Syntax of Plautus,* 60, holds that in generalizing statements the subjunctive was the original mood. If this be true, this usage in Augustine is but one more example of how, in p. c. Latin, early grammatical constructions were revived.

Ch. **10,** N. 31: **decurtata et mutilata verba immurmurare:** Professor Pease has kindly communicated the following parallels: Hier. *Ep.* 22, 29, 6; 79, 6, 2; 107, 4, 6; Aug. *in Ioan. Ev.* 23.

Ch. **11,** N. 20: **omnia concurrant:** it is interesting to observe that in some Vulgate and Old Latin MSS. a singular verb occurs after a neuter plural in imitation of the Greek usage (cf. Ioan., 9, 3, *ut manifestetur opera dei*). In Augustine likewise some MSS. of *De Civitate Dei,* 18, 51, read: *diligentibus eum omnia cooperatur in bonum.* Cf. J. Martin, *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akad., phil.-hist. Kl.,* 181 (1917), Nr. 6, p. 94.

Ch. **12,** N. 14: **erroris:** the word *error* (in Greek πλάνη) had become almost a technical term among Christian writers, particularly the apologists, to designate the sinful state of pagans; cf. Lucian Antioch. *ap.* Rufin. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 8, 13, 2, *omnipotens ille deus . . . errores miseratus humanos, sapientiam suam misit in hunc mundum carne vestitam; Acta Carpi,* 5 (ed. Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen,* III, 3-4, p. 44²) Χριστὸν τὸν ἐθλόντα ἐν ὑστεροῖς καιροῖς επὶ σωτηρία ἡμῶν καὶ ῥυσάμενος ἡμας τῆς πλάνης τοῦ διαβόλου; Tert., *Ad Scap.* 1, *qui ergo dolemus de ignorantia vestra et miseremur erroris humani.*

Ch. **13,** N. 7. For *Catholica* = *catholica ecclesia* in S. Optatus Milevitanus, cf. 1, 26, *ubi esset catholica . . . ut dicerent illam esse catholicam;* 4, 6, *columba mea, id est catholica;* 5, 1, *defendisti catholicam;* 7, 3, *quodsi de recipiendis vobis catholica dubitaret;* 7, 5, *sic et catholica prior est . . . contra veram catholicam militatis . . . quia iamdudum de catholica lapsi Maiorinum ordinaverunt.*

Ch. **13,** N. 19: **expertus haec dico:** Professor Pease suggests the Aeschylean πάθει μάθος.

P. 60, l. 2: **et non tunc initiandi:** Rentschka, 94, writes: "*Der Heide, der um Aufnahme in die Kirche bat* (*Rudis genannt*), *empfing einen einmaligen Unterricht.*" It seems probable from Augustine's remark here that the *rudis* might receive more than one instruction (*non tunc initiandi*), unless we are to believe that the *initiatio,* or ceremony of reception into the catechumenate, took place at a different time from the instruction; but from the opening words of Ch. 26 it would appear that the *initiatio* took place directly after the instruction: *His dictis interrogandus est an haec credat atque observare desideret. Quod cum responderit, sollemniter utique signandus est et ecclesiae more tractandus.*

Ch. **14,** N. 9: **flectamur facile, ne frangamur:** cf. also the fable of the oak and the grass in the high wind.

Ch. **14,** N. 13: **consilium autem domini manet in aeternum:** this is the reading of the Old Latin Version.

Ch. **14,** N. 29: **maestitudo:** for the use of the ending *-tudo* instead of *-tia,* cf. also Rönsch, 68.

P. 64, l. 20: **cum pane . . . quam cum verbo dei:** cf. Deut. 8, 3, *ut ostenderet tibi quod non in solo pane vivat homo, sed in omni verbo quod egreditur de ore Dei;* Matth. 4, 4, *non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo, quod procedit de ore Dei.*

Ch. **15,** N. 5: **de loco superiore:** Augustine used to preach to the people from the *ambo,* which he sometimes calls *exedra* (cf. *De Civ. Dei,* 22, 8, *in gradibus exedrae, in qua de superiore loquebar loco, feci stare ambos fratres, cum eorum legeretur libellus*).

P. 68, l. 3: **secta:** here 'a school of philosophy' whose adherents would be more cultivated than those belonging to *ille aut ille vulgaris error.* For *secta* in the meaning of 'a school of philosophy,' cf. Cic. *Brut.* 31, 120, *qui eorum philosophorum sectam secutus es.* In the Acts of the Apostles *secta* is used disparagingly to designate the Christian religion (cf. 24, 5, *auctorem seditionis sectae Nazarenorum;* 18, 22, *nam de secta hac notum est nobis quia ubique contradicitur*). Harnack (*Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten,* 4th ed. 1, p. 422, n. 1) observes that up to the middle of the third century *secta* was employed in a good sense by Christian writers, particularly by St. Cyprian (cf. *De Bono Pat.* 1, *fidei nostrae secta*) to designate the Christian community. Beginning, however, with the fourth century, it ceases to be used by Christian writers when speaking of Christianity. In the present passage it seems to be used somewhat contemptuously.

Ch. **15,** N. 12: **cum eadem omnibus debeatur caritas, non eadem est omnibus adhibenda medicina:** Mayer, in his *Katechetik* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1924, p. 4), commenting on this passage, writes: *"Man darf die katechetische Literatur bis ganz nahe an die Gegenwart durchsuchen, bis man wieder Anweisungen von ähnlicher Feinheit und psychologischer Tiefe findet!"*

Ch. **15,** N. 13: **caritas alios parturit:** for the thought, cf. also Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* 147, 14, *parturiti et parti sunt matre caritate.*

P. 70, l. 14: **ruinae:** a favorite word in the Old Testament to express 'spiritual ruin'; cf. Ecclus. 32, 25, *in via ruinae non eas;* Exod. 34, 12; Esth. 14, 11.

P. 70, l. 34: **hanc iniquitatem facere etiam vindicem iniqui-**

tatum iudicem cogunt: the expression *iniquitatem facere* occurs frequently in Scripture, cf. Iudith, 7, 19, *iniquitatem fecimus;* Ps. 36, 1, *facientes iniquitatem;* Matth., 13, 41, *qui faciunt iniquitatem,* and so frequently. **vindicem iniquitatum iudicem:** in *De Inventione,* 2, 104, Cicero calls the judge *peccatorum vindex.*

P. 74, l. 19: **fortis et patiens:** for the expression, cf. Ps. 7, 12, *Deus iudex iustus, fortis et patiens.*

Ch. **17,** N. 25: **opportuno:** for the spelling *oportunus,* cf. *C. S. E. L.,* Vol. 53, p. 446.

Ch. **17,** N. 31: **indutus:** cf. also Athanas. *Contr. Arian.* 2, 61, οὕτως ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνεδύσατο τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν σάρκα; ibid. 1, 43, ἐνδυσάμενος τὴν δουλωθεῖσαν σάρκα τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ; Tert. *De Carne Christi,* 16, *Christum terreni census induisse carnem;* id. *Adv. Prax.,* 27, *transfiguratus in carne an indutus carnem? immo indutus;* Arnob. 1, 62, *homo quem induerat et secum ipse portabat;* Lact. *Inst. Div.* 4, 25, 1, *quare deus . . . voluerit eum carne indui;* Aug. *De Civ. Dei,* 16, 29, *Christum ante indumentum carnis fuisse visibilem.*

Ch. **17,** N. 32: **a peccatoribus et pro peccatoribus moreretur:** for an analogous construction, cf. Caes. *B. G.* 1, 20, *quod si quid ei a Caesare gravius accidisset* ('but if too severe a fate should befall him at the hands of Caesar').

Ch. **18,** N. 11: **cum ei praeiret ad deum:** though literally translated "when he went before her to God," means, of course, "when he led her in the worship of God."

P. 78, l. 23: **faceret hominem:** for the expression, cf. Gen. 1, 26, *faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram.*

Ch. **19,** N. 12: **super impios homines patiens:** this use of *super* with such verbs as *misereri, dolere,* etc. is a Hebraism.

Ch. **19,** N. 19: **spatium:** this excerpt from *The Lay-Folk's Mass Book* (Royal MS. British Museum, c. 1375) can be found in *Love Songs of Sion,* adapted by Neville Watts (London, 1924, p. 24).

Ch. **19,** N. 26: **impietates:** the pluralizing of abstract nouns is a Hebraism; hence the frequency of this construction in Biblical

Latin. On the absurdity of 'making' gods, cf. also Hor. *Sat.*, 1, 8, 1-3, *olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum, | cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum, | maluit esse deum.*

Ch. **19,** N. 27: **condidit:** on the distinction in the use of the words *condere* and *creare* Augustine observes (*De Fide et Symb.* 5): *idem est condere quod creare; quamquam in Latinae linguae consuetudine dicatur aliquando creare pro eo quod est gignere; sed Graeca discernit. Hoc enim dicimus creaturam quod illi κτίσμα vel κτίσιν vocant; et cum sine ambiguitate loqui volumus non dicimus creare sed condere.*

Ch. **19,** N. 35: **omnes fideles omnium gentium:** for this use of parechesis, cf. Cic. *Orat.*, 1, 4, *par est omnes omnia experiri* and Kroll's note (Wilhelm Kroll, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orator,* Berlin, 1913, p. 22).

Ch. **20,** N. 2: **unus:** = *quidam.* The use of *unus* in Biblical Latin as an indefinite article shows the influence of Hebrew and Hellenistic Greek, in both of which the numeral *unus* frequently takes the place of the missing indefinite article. Cf. 3 Reg. 20, 28, *unus vir dei* = 'a man of God'; Matth. 8, 9, *unus scriba* (εἷς γραμματεύς) = 'a scribe.' Cf. W. C. Allen, *A critical and exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew,* p. 81. In Ch. 27, S. 53, Augustine writes, *praedictum est Abrahae fideli servo dei, uni homini,* where from the context it is evident that *unus* is a numeral: 'to one man.'

Ch. **20,** N. 18: **crucis:** pregnant for 'death on the cross,' 'death by crucifixion.' Tertullian in his *Apology* 23, 12 (*Codex Fuldensis,* ed. Waltzing, p. 265) writes: *Christus . . . si post crucem de sepulchro a discipulis subreptus est.* Oehler's edition reads: *Christus . . . si post mortem* (cf. Mayor and Souter, p. 82). Sometimes *crux* and *mors* are used as an hendiadys (cf. Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 5, 5, *crux et mors Dei*). Cf. Phil. 2, 8, *humiliavit semetipsum factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis.*

Ch. **20,** N. 24: **in digitis . . . apparet quaedam divisio:** for the thought, cf. also Aug. *In Ps.* 143, 3, *verumtamen in digitis agnoscimus divisionem operationis, et tamen radicem unitatis.*

Ch. **20,** N. 43: **hominem assumens:** in the *Te Deum* the read-

ing *tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem* is that of the Roman Breviary. It may be of interest to note here that two very ancient Irish MSS., the *Antiphonarium Benchorense,* which is preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and which has been printed by Muratori (*Opere,* t. XI, part 3, pp. 217-251, Arezzo, 1770), and a *Hymnarium,* which formerly belonged to Archbishop Ussher and which is at present in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, give the reading, *tu ad liberandum mundum suscepisti hominem.* These two MSS. likewise preserve the reading, *aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis gloria munerari,* which Professor Phillimore has adopted in *The Hundred best Latin Hymns,* (Glasgow, 1926, p. 6), the *Roman Breviary* reading, *in gloria numerari.* Cf. James H. Todd, *The Te Deum,* in *The Journal of classical and sacred Philology,* Vol. I, No. 2, p. 271; also Maurice Frost, *The Irish Text of the Te Deum,* in *The Church Quarterly Review,* Vol. 102 (1926), 138.

P. 90, l. 23: **coli iuberent unum verum deum:** the expression *unum deum colere* is a favorite one with the apologists; cf. Lucian Antioch. *ap.* Rufin. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 9, 6, *in occulto non est quod nos Christiani quem colimus, Deus unus est;* Tert. *Apol.,* 17, 1, *quod colimus Deus verus est;* id. *Ad Scap.,* 2; Min. Fel. *Oct.* 32, 4, *quem colimus Deum nec ostendimus nec videmus;* cf. also *De cat. Rud.,* Ch. 21, S. 37, *unum verum deum coluit;* 22, 39, *unum verum deum coluit;* 23, 43, *ad unum deum colendum rudes;* 27, 53, *qui coleret unum deum.*

Ch. **21,** N. 30: **per multas prophetias prophetatus est:** this construction is in imitation of the Hebrew cognate accusative.

Ch. **22,** N. 7: **sexta die:** for the double gender of *dies,* cf. Löfstedt, 192-195; G. Wolterstorff, *Zum Geschlectswechsel von dies,* in *Glotta* 12 (1923), 112-127; P. Kretschmer, *Das doppelte Geschlecht von lat. dies,* ibid. p. 151; Maurice Jeannert, *Sur le genre de dies,* in *Revue de Philologie* 46 (1922), 15.

Ch. **23,** N. 3: **misit eis spiritum sanctum . . . per quem . . . diffusa caritate . . . legem possent implere:** for the thought, cf. the *Hymn for Pentecost* in the *Breviarium Parisiense: per quem (Spiritum Sanctum) legis amor, cordibus insitus, | dat quod lex iubet exsequi.*

P. 98, l. 23: **ex ipso ergo die quinquagesimus dies impletus est, et legem acceperunt:** 'the fiftieth day, I say, from that day was fulfilled, *and* they received the law' = '*when* they received the law.' Observe that in this construction Augustine shows the influence of Biblical Latin in which the Hebrew coordinate form is retained, though in meaning the clause is really subordinate (cf. Matth. 15, 25, *erat hora tertia, et crucifixerunt eum:* 'and it was the third hour, *and* they crucified Him' = '*when* they crucified Him).'

Ch. **23,** N. 12: **quasi ferretur flatus:** the middle use of *ferre* and *movere* with inanimate subjects is, of course, classical; cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.,* 2, 45, 117, *huic autem continens aër fertur ille quidem levitate sublimis.*

Ch. **23,** N. 35ª: **sanctorum:** cf. also Eph. 1, 1, *omnibus sanctis* (τοῖς ἁγίοις). Abbott, in *A critical and exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians* (New York, 1905, p. 2), observes that οἱ ἅγιοι was a term transferred from the Israel of the Old Testament to the Christians as the true people, its primary sense, like that of the corresponding Hebrew word, being "consecrated to God." See also Bishop Lightfoot's note on Philippians, 1, 1, τοῖς ἁγίοις.

Ch. **24,** N. 4ª: **pro fidei veritate:** for this Hebraism, in which the substantive accompanying the genitive is equivalent to an adjective, cf. Ch. 16, N. 36. This construction is not so common as the one in which the substantive takes the place of the adjective (cf. Ch. 18, N. 25).

Ch. **24,** N. 10: **sub Christi nomine:** cf. Aug. *Quaest. sept. in Ev. Matth.,* 11, 1, *verumtamen quoniam Dominus agrum ipsum, non Ecclesiam, sed hunc mundum interpretatus est, bene intelliguntur haeretici, quia non societate unius Ecclesiae vel unius dei sed societate solius nominis Christiani in hoc mundo permiscentur bonis.*

Ch. **24,** N. 15: **iudicii dies:** for the expression, cf. also Tert. *Test.* 6, *et stabit ante aulas dei die iudicii nihil habens dicere.*

Ch. **25,** N. 4: **sed ex te ipso crede,** *etc.*: on such types of expression Professor Pease has referred me to the inscriptions in

Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, 8162 ff.; Ausonius (ed. Peiper, p. 419); *Am. J. Arch.*, 26 (1922), 503; Carcopino (in *Rev. Arch.*, 15 (1922), 211 ff.).

Ch. 25, N. 12: **ut in his corporibus reddant,** etc.: for the thought, cf. also Ambr. *De Fide Resurr.* 88, *haec est series et causa iustitiae, ut quoniam corpus animique communis est actus (quia quae animus cogitavit, corpus effecit) utrumque in iudicium veniat utrumque aut poenae dedatur aut gloriae reservetur.*

P. 106, l. 14: **conditionem:** J. E. B. Mayor, in *On Condicio and Conditio* in the *Journal of Philology* 8 (1879), No. 16, p. 265, holds that the spelling *conditio* should be reserved to the meaning 'creation,' while *condicio* = 'condition,' 'state,' in which meaning it is employed here.

Ch. 25, N. 50: **non omnis qui dicit mihi . . . in nomine tuo manducavimus et bibimus:** in *De Serm. Domini in Monte*, 2, 25, Augustine asks how the expression *non omnis qui dicit,* etc. is to be reconciled with 1 Cor. 12, 3, *et nemo potest dicere, Dominus Iesus, nisi in Spiritu Sancto.* He answers: *videtur enim dicere etiam ille qui nec vult nec intelligit quod dicit: sed ille proprie dicit, qui voluntatem ac mentem suam sono vocis enuntiat.* Augustine's text, as given here, may represent the conflation of Matth. 7, 21 and Luc. 13, 26. C. H. Milne, in *A Reconstruction of the Old-Latin Text or Texts of the Gospels used by Saint Augustine* (Cambridge, 1926, p. xvi), observes: "Augustine's rapidity of composition accounts to some extent for the instances in which he welds the language of one of the Evangelists with that of another, quotes as it were simultaneously from two of the Gospels, and presents us with a passage of composite authorship. Towards further explanation of this practice, however, it should be borne in mind that to Augustine and his contemporaries there were not four Gospels, but one Gospel. Except when he was engaged in the preparation of the *De Consensu Evangelistarum,* in which the accounts of the four Evangelists had to be disentangled in order to be reconciled—except in that special case, Augustine was well content, in accordance with the practice of his time, to regard the *Evangelium quadruplex* as an unity." It is possible, however, that Augustine in quoting Matth. 7, 21, is following the reading, *οὐ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐφάγομεν καὶ [τῷ ὀνόματί σου] ἐπίομεν.* Cf. Souter, *N. T. Graece.*

Ch. **25,** N. 53: **tene te ad legem dei:** on this passage Rentschka (p. 110) observes: *Ein eigentlicher Hinweis, wie wir ihn vielleicht erwarten, d. h. Nennung der einzelnen Gebote, ein solcher Hinweis auf den Dekalog fehlt hier. Wenig Worte nur konnte Augustinus der Exhorte widmen, da war das obige Verfahren, den Ankömmling vor jedem bösen Beispiel zu warnen, das kürzeste und auch praktischste. Dass aber Augustinus wirklich an den Dekalog denkt, zeigt der ganze Zusammenhang und der Ausdruck "tene te ad legem dei."*

Ch. **25,** N. 60: **vel tibi comitantur:** for *comitari* with the dative in Biblical Latin, cf. Tob., 5, 27, *comitetur ei.*

Ch. **26,** N. 13: **si sibi ipsi non sint inimici:** 'if they be not enemies to themselves.' Barker (p. 77) translates 'if they be not enemies to him' (God); Davis and Lock (p. 53): 'if they be not His enemies.' It is correctly translated by Ernesti (p. 126): '*wenn anders sie nicht ihre eigenen Feinde wären.* On this construction Madvig, 487, b, observes: "The Latins sometimes put the nominative of *ipse,* when the antithesis might lead us to expect another case (in order to mark more emphatically the relation of a person or thing to itself as at once subject and object)"; cf. Cic. *In Verr.* 1, 6, *Verres sic erat humilis atque demissus, ut non modo populo Romano, sed etiam sibi ipse condemnatus videretur; De Fin.* 5, 10, 28, *si quis ipse sibi inimicus est.*

Ch. **26,** N. 16: **manens quidem in divinitate sua,** etc.: cf. also Greg. Mag. *Hom.* 29, *illo etenim revertebatur, ubi erat: et inde redibat, ubi remanebat.*

Ch. **27,** N. 15: **ipsius ecclesiae paleas:** Augustine usually makes a distinction in the use of *paleae* and *zizania: paleae* referring to bad Catholics, *zizania,* to heretics (cf. *Quaest. Sept. in Ev. Matth.,* 11, 1, *verumtamen quoniam Dominus agrum ipsum, non Ecclesiam, sed hunc mundum interpretatus est, bene intelliguntur haeretici, quia non societate unius Ecclesiae vel unius fidei, sed societate solius nominis Christiani in hoc mundo permiscentur bonis: ut illi qui in eadem fide mali sunt, palea potius quam zizania deputentur; quia palea etiam fundamentum ipsum habet cum frumento, radicemque communem*).

APPENDIX

African Latinity.

It was a fond theory of Renaissance scholars that Latin in the hands of African authors developed certain peculiarities of language, style, and idiom that sharply marked it off from the Latin of Rome.[1] The first scholar in modern times to reopen the discussion of *Africitas* was Dr. Karl Sittl, in his *Die lokale Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache* (Erlangen, 1882). The forces at work in forming this dialect were, according to him, climate, environment, Semitic and Punic influence, the peculiar African *indoles,* and particularly, the fixed, unchanged character of the Latin brought to Africa by the Roman colonists after the third Punic War in 146 B. C. Sittl was supported in Germany by Landgraf, Wölfflin, Bernhardy, and Ott; in France, by Monceaux. After further study, however, he practically abandoned his position.[2] Among the scholars in Germany who opposed the theory of "African Latin" were Jordan, Kaulen, Rönsch, Kroll, and Norden.[3] These pointed out that the Latin of the original African colonists had not remained unchanged, but had undergone the same developments as had the Latin of Rome.[4] The most weighty argument, however, against the theory is the absence of contemporary Latin in other parts of the Roman Empire.[5]

[1] Cf. Norden 2, 588-598.

[2] Bursian, *Jahresbericht* 68 (1891), p. 226.

[3] Cf. also Watson, *The Style and Language of St. Cyprian,* in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica,* 4 (1896), 241; Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae,* 18; Merchie, *Notes sur le style de Sidoine Appollinaire* in *Musée Belge* 27 (1923), 82.

[4] Thieling, in *Hellenismus in Kleinafrika,* 154, observes: *Kein Sonderdasein war es, das die Literatur in Kleinafrika seit der Kaiserzeit führte, sie stand in enger Beziehung und Wechselwirkung mit dem allgemeinen, kosmopolitischen Geistesströmungen des Kaiserreichs, deren Fäden in der römischen Metropole zusammenliefen.*

[5] Kennedy, in his article *The Old Latin Versions* in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible,* 3, 54, observes: "It must be borne in mind that the Latin Literature of the 2nd and 3rd centuries which we possess is almost exclu-

The Latin, therefore, of Africa exhibited no such characteristics as to distinguish it from the Latin of Rome or that of the other provinces. We may even go further and say that, far from being provincial, African Latin was more correct than the Latin of any other part of the Roman Empire, not excluding Rome itself. As early as Juvenal, Africa had become famous for its rhetorical schools, in which only classical models were studied and imitated. Consequently, the Latin of these provincials was, if anything, painfully correct; just as the written English of the United States is frequently more correct, if less idiomatic, than the English of England. While maintaining, however, that there is no such thing as a distinctive "African Latin," we must admit the existence of an African style. The seed of the Second Sophistic fell on good ground in Africa, the "African" style exhibiting some of its worst features.

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sively African. And so we are in danger of labelling with that name a type of diction which may well have prevailed throughout the Latin-speaking provinces of the Roman Empire. . . . The dialect of the Spanish and Gallican Latin writers, so far as we possess it, cannot be separated by any well-marked boundaries from that of Africa. In short, the current investigation of Late-Latin is more and more tending to reduce the so-called 'Africanisms' and to establish a wider basis for their occurrence."

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